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Feb 1947

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS · PUBLISHERS

V. 37
February -
December
1946

VOLUME XXXVII · FEBRUARY 1946 · NUMBER ONE

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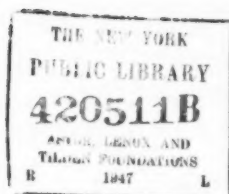
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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION

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FEBRUARY 1946

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW is published four times a year (February-April-October-December) by Columbia University Press, 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin, or 2960 Broadway, New York City. Single copies, \$1.00 (foreign \$1.10); \$4.00 a year (foreign, including Canada, \$4.30). Subscribers should notify the publisher of change of address at least three weeks before publication of issue with which change is to take effect. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1946 by Columbia University Press.

Manuscripts, editorial communications and books for review should be addressed to Professor Horatio Smith, 513 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York City. THE REVIEW will not be responsible for the return of manuscripts unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. For all questions regarding preparation of manuscripts and printing style, consult the "Notes for Contributors" at the end of the February issue.

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AN OLD PROVENÇAL CHANSON DE MAL MARIÉE

THE POEM HERE STUDIED is a composition of the Catalan troubadour Cerveri de Girona, published by F. A. Ugolini in his diplomatic edition of *Il Canzoniere inedito de Cerveri di Girona*, Rome, 1936 (*Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, Anno 333, Serie VI, volume 5, 513-683), Number 102, page 672. The ms, known as S^r, now belonging to the "Biblioteca de Catalunya" (Number 146) in Barcelona, calls the poem a *gelosesca*. The name is derived from *gelos* and formed after the model of *sirventesca*,¹ originally the feminine of an adjective in *-esc* (cf. *sirventes joglaresc*) with a noun, such as *canso*, to be supplied. In ms S^r, almost all of Cerveri's poems are provided with titles, some of them occurring only there. These titles do not always designate a literary genre, such as *canso*, *sirventes*, *vers*, *tenso*, *alba* etc.; many of them are of individual coinage and meant to illustrate the contents of the poem.² The question is to which of the two categories of titles *gelosesca* belongs.

There are no other known poems bearing the same name. Theoretical works dealing with Provençal poetics, it is true, mention the *gelozesca*. The *Leys d'Amors* (ed. Anglade, *Bibl. méridionale*, Série I, Number 17-20; volume II, 185) name it among the *dictats no principals* (the less important genres), giving this additional remark: *Alcu fan gilozescas al compas* (i.e. "after the metrical scheme") *de dansa o de chanso*. Of the *dansa* they say: . . . *dansa no ha mays tres cobblas estiers lo respes e la tornada*. The *Doctrina de compondre dictats* (ed. Paul Meyer, *Romania*, VI, 353 ss)³ gives a somewhat more detailed definition (page 357, number 14): *Si vols far gelozesca, deus parlar de gelozia repreden e contrastan de fayt d'amor; e deu haver responedor, e quatre cobles, e una o dues tornades, e so noveyll o estrayn ya feyt*,⁴ and later on: *Gelozesca es dita per ço car gelozamen parla de ço que dir vol, contrasta[n] ab alguna persona en son can-*

1. Another of Cerveri's poems is entitled *pegesca*, and it is the author himself that gives it this name in the *tornada* (Ugolini, No. 101, p. 671). I suppose it is a humorous derivation from *pec* (*pega*) "fool."

2. Cf. Storost, *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 60 (1939), 519.

3. The date of this work is not to be deduced with certainty. In the only ms that contains it, the *Doctrina* follows the *Razos de trobar* by Raimon Vidal de Besaudun. If Raimon is the author of the *Doctrina*, too, which P. Meyer does not think impossible, this work would belong to the first half of the 13th century, and its author could then not have known Cerveri's *gelozesca*. But Raimon's authorship is anything but sure. Meyer himself sees a difference of style in the two works, and Milá thinks the *Doctrina* belong to the end of the 13th century. It may even be still more recent.

4. The *gelozesca* may have a melody (form) of its own or be composed after the model of another song.

N. V. F. L.

tar (page 358, Number 30). The second explanation of the *Doctrina*, not quite clear in all its wording, seems to add hardly anything new to the first. The definitions of the *Leys* and the *Doctrina*, however, are contradictory in one respect. The former gives the *gelozesca*, like the *dansa*, three stanzas, the latter gives it four. Setting aside the question of the number of stanzas we could say that those definitions, and especially that of the *Leys*, are in full agreement with Cerveri's poem, and we venture to claim that the two treatises on poetics did not know more specimens of the *gelozesca* than we do, their instructions having thus been made according to Cerveri's poem. This would imply that the word *gelozesca* does not designate a literary genre, but is one of those individual titles that ms S^o uses to characterize the contents of a song.

However this may be, our *gelozesca* deals with the *gilos*⁵ (the jealous husband), traditional figure of the *chanson de mal mariée*, of which it is a typical representative. This literary genre has been made the topic of a monograph by Rudolf Daehne: *Die Lieder der Maumariée seit dem Mittelalter*, Halle, 1933 (*Romanistische Arbeiten*, ed. by Karl Voretzsch, Number xx). Cerveri's song, indeed, shows all the characteristics of that kind of poem: 1. the husband is old, ugly, and of disgusting manners; 2. he is of bad character: false, malicious, jealous;⁶ 3. he is a *vilain*,⁷ interested in nothing but his farming; 4. The wife complains bitterly of being married to such a man; 5. she blames her friends for having given her to that abominable man; 6. she curses her husband for depriving her of the pleasure of being with her lover, wishing the former all kinds of disaster, even death; 7. her lover will help her.

However, besides these features there are others in our poem which, up to now, have either not been found in so early a period (a) or have no parallel at all in songs of this kind (b). With reference to (a): 1. the wife's mother sympathizes with her unhappy daughter; she even tries to help her;⁸ 2. the fact that the husband, instead of making love to his wife, turns his back to her, sleeping and snoring, is a trait that Daehne (pages 49-51) reports as not appearing in French songs before the fifteenth century and as becoming of greater importance in the sixteenth

5. After all, any poem doing this, especially the poems discussed below, might have been called *gelozesca*, but Cerveri's song is the only one that actually did get that name.

6. The reproach of jealousy is, of course, inherent in the genre, though in our poem the man does not seem to do anything that might prove him to be jealous. On the contrary, his behavior described in ll. 12-15 and l. 24, rather indicates that he does not care for his wife in the least.

7. Cerveri does not use this expression, but the man is one (cf. ll. 23-24).

8. In our song she does it by a sort of incantation. In a modern Provençal song, the mother stays still more in the background; she advises her daughter to do the same thing that she had done herself when she was young: *Fai lou couioul, ma filha, que tun paire ja n'es* (Daehne, p. 145).

and seventeenth centuries only. With reference to (b): 1. in Cerveri's poem the woman does not only wish her husband to die,⁹ but she makes preparations to kill him herself; 2. she means to achieve this by employing magic and witchcraft.

Originality of ideas was generally not the aim of medieval poets. Nevertheless, the motifs named under (b), being without parallels in the *chanson de mal mariée*, may indeed constitute Cerveri's own contribution to the genre. Particularly the means by which the woman is going to rid herself of her husband seems to follow a line of thought which apparently was quite familiar to our poet. He indeed makes not infrequent allusions to matters of popular belief. He knows the fabulous country of Prester John (Gr. 434a, 82), he mentions several facts of legendary zoology (Gr. 435a, 31), he refers to the story of the old servant eating a snake (Gr. 434, 15), he names the legend of Saint-Genis who was once a jongleur and the candle of Arras (Gr. 434, 57), he makes Saint-Mark and a miraculous power of his the basis of a humorous song¹⁰ (Gr. 434a, 72), and he seriously warns us of old women, whose aspect may deprive us of the faculties of seeing, hearing and speaking (Gr. 435a, 56). If Cerveri really invented the above-named motifs, which I think extremely likely, he was well inspired, because they excellently fit into the framework of the so-called popular poetry to which the *chanson de mal mariée* belongs.

The characteristics of the first category (a) are, in all probability, less original. Since they are found in specimens of the genre posterior to Cerveri's *chanson de mal mariée*, he may well have picked up those features in songs that existed at his time and were known to him, but that we have no knowledge of because they have been lost since. The question is whether Cerveri underwent the influence of Old Provençal or Old French songs of this kind. The influence of Provençal poetry would not be surprising in an author who composed about a hundred poems in that language. But this assumption is opposed by the fact that songs of the unhappily married woman are extremely rare in southern France. They are even less numerous than Daehne (pages 10 ss.) makes us be-

9. Cf. the following line from one of the two Provençal *chansons de mal mariée* till now the only one extant: *Qu'eu prec la mort qe'l venga tost auçire* Gr. 461, 69 (Appel, *Prov. Chr.*, No. 47) 11, 4. A little more audacious is a woman in a French song of the 18th century from which Daehne quotes these lines:

*Je voudrais qu'il vienne un édit
D'écorder tous les vieux maris.
J'écorderais le mien aussi.*

But her activity is only hypothetical.

10. See my edition (*Une chanson humoristique de Cerveri de Girona*) in *Ann. du Midi*, 51 (1939), pp. 285-294.

lieve. The poem of Jausbert de Puycibot (Gr. 173, 9 ed. Shepard, page 28) does not belong here, though the four lines quoted by Daehne (page 6) speak of the brutality of his beloved lady's husband; it is a regular *canso*. Neither are the 12 lines of the *Kalenda Maya* inserted in, and adapted to the metre of, *Flamenca* really a *chanson de mal mariée*. Sung by the girls of the village, they praise in general terms illicit love in spite of the *gilos*, but do not contain a word of complaint on the part of an unhappy wife. The same is true for the two anonymous songs *A l'entradel del tens clar* (Gr. 461, 12) and *Li jalous partout oint fustat* (Gr. 461, 148-a). The poem *D'una don'ai auzit* (Gr. 234, 8), attributed to Guillem de Saint-Leidier by ms C, to Peire Duran by ms R,¹¹ cannot be considered as a literary product at all, being nothing but an imaginary dispute of utter obscenity between a man and his wife about one single detail of their married life. *Can se reconian auzeus* (Mahn, *Ged.* 728) is a French song, superficially Provençalized, by Thibaut de Blizon. As the last of "genuine" *chansons de mal mariée* Daehne names a song beginning *S'anc fui belha ni prezada*. He does not seem to have ever seen more of this poem than the first line just quoted. All his knowledge about it comes from Gaspary, *Geschichte der italiaenischen Literatur*, 1, 101. Indeed, Gaspary gives the line in question—and nothing else—saying that it is the beginning of a Provençal song in which the lady complains about the *vilan* to whom she has been married because of his riches, but finds consolation in her lover and the faithful watchman who protects their love from any danger. What Gaspary does not say and Daehne consequently does not know is that the summary given by him is not that of a whole poem, but of only one stanza¹² out of five of an *alba* composed by Cadenet (Gr. 106, 14) and published and discussed by Appel in his edition of that poet (Halle, 1920, pages 76-83). That this stanza brings some motifs characteristic of a *chanson de mal mariée* there is no doubt, and Appel does not fail to call our attention to this fact. The fifth stanza, too,

11. See my article *Abseits vom hohen Minnesang* in *Studi Medievali*, n.s. ix, 131.

12. This is the stanza in question:

*S'anc fui belha ni prezada
ar sui d'aut en bas tornada,
qu'a un vilan sui donada
tot per sa gran manentia;
e murria,
s'ieu fin amic non avia
cuy disses mo marrimen,
e guaita plazen
que mi fes son d'alba.*

Some mss do not have this stanza, beginning with *Eu sui tan corteza gaita*, and it is with this line that the song is listed in Bartsch's *Grundriss* and Pillet-Carsten's *Bibliographie*. This is probably the reason why Daehne could not identify it.

bears some similarity with this kind of song.¹³ These facts led Appel to believe that the poet tried to create something new by fusing into one the two genres of the *alba* and the *chanson de mal mariée*. However that may be, there is no denying that, providing his poem with the traditional refrain of an *alba*, Cadenet had meant it to be an *alba*.

From this critical review of the songs claimed by Daehne as Provençal *chansons de mal mariée* it may be concluded that, besides Cerveri's *gelozesca*, there are only two real specimens of that literary genre in Old Provençal:¹⁴ *Coindeta suï, si com n'ai greu cossire* (Gr. 461, 69) and *Quan lo gilos er fora* (Gr. 461, 201), both of them published by Appel in his *Prov. Chrestomathie* (Numbers 47 and 45). Jeanroy does not know of any others either; cf. *Les Origines de la Poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Âge*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1904, pages 86–87 and *Poésie lyrique des Troubadours*, Paris, 1934, I, 303. Each of these poems is known only from one single MS (Q and X), and it may therefore appear doubtful whether Cerveri had known them. On the other hand, seeing in Cerveri's *gelozesca* an imitation of French songs of this type presents another difficulty.

13. The fifth stanza runs thus:

*Ja per guap ni per menassa
que mos mals maritz me fassa,
no mudarai qu'ieu no jassa
ab mon amic tro al dia,
quar seria
desconoissens vilania,
qui partia malamen
son amic valen
de si, tro en l'alba.*

14. There is another poem of Cerveri's (Gr. 434a, 34; Ugolino No. 99, p. 669), called *viadeyra*, which is no *chanson de mal mariée*, though it shows some features of the latter. This is the text:

- No:1 prenatz, lo falls marit, ia, na Delgada,
no'l prenatz, lo fals-jurat,
3. que pec es, mal enseynat,
Y[a],
no'l prenatz, lo mal marit,
6. que pec es ez adormit,
Ya,
que pec es, mal enseynat;
9. no sia per vos amat,
Ya,
que pec es ez adormit,
12. no jaga ab vos el lit,
Ya,
no sia per vos amat.
15. Mel[h] val cel c'avetz privat,
Ya,
no jaga ab vos el lit,
18. mais vos y valra l'amich,
Ya.
4. ya]y—12. ya]ia.—15. mel.—18. Mes vol.

According to Am. Pagès, *La Poésie française en Catalogne du 13^e siècle à la fin du 15^e*, Toulouse, 1936 (*Bibl. méridionale*, 1, 23), literary relations between Northern France and Catalonia were not very close until the fourteenth century. He names, it is true, Cerveri as one of the earliest links between the two countries. The principal proof he gives for his claim is the fact that Cerveri makes use of the Alexandrine verse (page 7). This proof, however, is not convincing. The Alexandrine metre is not unknown to Provençal literature. The best-known epic specimen of this kind of verse is the Albigensian Chronicle.¹⁵ It occurs in lyric poetry too. Maus, *Peire Cardenal's Strophenbau*, Marburg, 1884, page 79, names fourteen poems in Alexandrine verse (Sordel, Bertran d'Alamanon, Peire Bremon, Dalfin d'Alvernha, etc.). All of them have in common the fact that they are composed in monorhyme stanzas, which seems to point to an epic origin of this metre. Now, the two poems of Cerveri that are written in the Alexandrine metre follow the same rule.¹⁶ This conformity of Cerveri's with Provençal usage is strong evidence against Pagès' opinion. Another argument advanced by Pagès is this one. Among the poems written by Ramón Lull in Alexandrine verse there is one called the *Desconort* which is to be sung in *el so Berart*. This is Berart de Monleydier, the hero of a lost epic, who is also mentioned by Cerveri in his didactic poem *Ben dit, mal dit* (written in lines of 6 syllables!) together with David, Plato, Roland, Perceval, and others (see Suchier, *Denkmaeler der prov. Lit. und Sprache*, Halle, 1883, page 269, l. 500). For Pagès it is sure that the lost *chanson de geste* was French and that Cerveri must have known it. But the fact that Cerveri mentions Berart does not mean anything because allusions to Berart are found several times in troubadour poetry, the first of them as early as Marcabrun, and there is no proof that the lost epic was written in French. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Ueber die den prov. Troubadours . . . bekannten epischen Stoffe*, Halle, 1878, page 70, thinks it, on the contrary, quite

15. The *Thezaur* by Peire de Corbian (ed. Jeanroy-Bertoni, *Ann. du Midi*, 23, 289 ss., 451 ss.) is also written in this metre (520 lines all of them ending in *-ens*.) A different kind of dodecasyllable is used in the metrical version of the *Practica Chirurgica* by Roger of Parma; the lines have a caesura after the fourth or the eighth syllable (see Stimming in *Groeber's Grundriss*, II, 2, 42-43).

16. There are indeed rare examples in Cerveri's lyric poems of Alexandrine verses alternating with those of different length. Gr. 434a, 20 is f.e. composed of stanzas comprising 4 decasyllabic and 2 Alexandrine verses. But this, of course, is no proof that Cerveri must have borrowed this metre from French poetry. Even if Cerveri had not had the above-named Provençal models, an author such as he, who, concerning lengths of lines, tried almost everything from monosyllabic to endecasyllabic verse, might well have hit upon the dodecasyllable by himself. In this he could have been guided by stanzas like those of Gr. 434a, 15. Here, the sixth syllables of all the lines are bound together by an internal rhyme, which allows the stanza to be considered as consisting of 10 lines of 6 syllables each instead of 5 Alexandrine verses with internal rhymes.

possible that it was a Provençal poem. Pagès might, however, have supported his point by emphasizing two other facts. 1. In one of his *pastorelas* (Gr. 437, 7c, ll. 10-11, ed. Kleinert, *Vier bisher ungedruckte Pastorelen des Troubadours Serveri von Gerona*, Halle, 1890, page 20) Cerveri says:

*C'a mos oyls tan plazen no vis,
nems en França n'en Castela.*

Taken literally these lines seem to prove that Cerveri had been in France and in Castile. But the question is whether the word *França* is really to cover only the northern part of Gaul and, if this is the case, whether we do not face here one of those stereotyped hyperbolical expressions so common in troubadour lyrics, nothing being known of Cerveri's stay in Castile either. 2. Cerveri composed two lines in French forming part of a *cobla en. VI. lengatges*¹⁷ (Gr. 434a, 40) which run thus:

*E voldroye touz les¹⁸ jorz de ma vie
dames trover o pris de tota (sic) jan.*

Here again we dare say that Cerveri followed Provençal rather than French tradition. When he composed that poor stanza he is not unlikely to have had in mind the famous five-language descort by Raïmbaut de Vaqueiras (Gr. 392, 4 ed. Appel, *Prov. Chrestom.*, Number 37).

There is another reason to presume a closer connection between Cerveri's *gelozesca* and Provençal poems of this kind. Like the two Provençal representatives mentioned above, Cerveri's *chanson de mal mariée* has the form of a *dansa*, i.e. a dancing song with a refrain put before the first stanza and supposed to be repeated after each stanza by a choral group, while the stanzas themselves were probably recited or sung by a soloist. Now, Pagès (*l.c.* 135), pointing out the unpopularity in Catalonia of the French *rondeau* and *ballade*, holds (without giving reasons for his opinion) that this was due to the fact *que la dansa provençale s'y était implantée depuis Cerveri de Girone et qu'aucune des autres chansons à danser n'a pu, durant plusieurs siècles, la détrôner*. We have already indicated that we know only very few specimens of such songs, especially the *chansons de mal mariée*. But Cerveri had been in southern France, at the court of the counts of Foix (see Massó Torrents, *l.c.* p. 182). There he may have heard not only the two Provençal *chansons de mal mariée* of which we have knowledge, but also other poems of the same kind which have not come down to us. The fact that Provençal troubadours, such as Jausbert

17. Ugolini No. 93, previously edited by Massó Torrents (*l.c.* 230), who identifies them as Castilian, Provençal, French, Gascon, Sicilian (?), Catalan.

18. Ugolini has *le*, Massó Torrents *les*.

de Puycibot and Cadenet, used motifs characteristic of the *chanson de mal mariée* make us believe that this genre was far more popular in southern France than its few written specimens indicate. Most of them probably were refused the honor of being written down together with the representatives of "nobler" genres.

So the odds are definitely in favor of Cerveri's having undergone the influence of Provençal rather than French models. The metrical structure he gives his poem seems to confirm this assumption. The stanzas of the two other Provençal *chansons de mal mariée* are in a very simple metrical form, probably much too simple for a man like Cerveri who loved to display his versifying skill. He is, however, not likely to have invented the metrical scheme of his *gelozesca* himself. There is one Provençal poem whose stanza has exactly the same form, though its rhymes are different from those of Cerveri's song,¹⁹ i.e. 10a' 10b 10 a' 10 b 10 a' 10 b 10 a' (Maus, *l.c.* No. 210). It is a poem by Montan (Gr. 306,2). This author was a contemporary of Sordel, with whom he exchanged a *cobla*, and therefore prior to Cerveri. His "poem" is of incredible obscenity. That does not mean that Cerveri was not allowed to borrow its metre, which is the more likely because his own poem does not quite conform to courtly usage either. Moreover, Montan himself is likely to have had a model for his "poem," which is a *tenso*, though a fictitious one, and therefore not subject to the rule of the *canço*, which had to be original in its metrical structure. This model, it is true, has not come down to us but may have existed²⁰ and been imitated for a second time by Cerveri. This presumably lost original is supposed to have had the same rhymes as our poem.

There is not much to be said about the versification itself. The decasyllabic lines, in our opinion a little too heavy and solemn for the tenor of the poem, are mostly built in strict observation of the metrical rules, i.e. with a caesura after the fourth syllable, which, when unstressed, forms what has been called a lyric caesura (ll. 8, 10, 13, 15). There are, however, two lines which seem to deviate from those rules, showing the structure 6+4 instead of 4+6. They are l. 3 and l. 23. In l. 3 (*E·m*

19. So we have no definite proof that Cerveri imitated the form of a Provençal song with his *gelozesca*. He did do it with the following of his poems in which there is identity of rhymes: 1. Gr. 434 a, 23 = Giraut de Bornelh Gr. 242, 17; 2. Gr. 434 a, 28 = Raimon Jordan Gr. 404, 11 (cf. Kjellman's edition p. 121); 3. Gr. 434 a, 36 = Raimbaut de Vaqueiras Gr. 393, 23; 4. Gr. 434 a, 48 = Uc Brunet Gr. 450, 3; 5. Gr. 434 a, 75 = Bern. de Rovenac Gr. 66, 4; 6. Gr. 434 a, 81 = Arnaut de Marueh Gr. 30, 16.

20. Montan's "poem" is a travesty of courtly love. The existence of a *canço* being the metrical model of this *tenso* would greatly add to its cynic nature and to the pleasure of certain hearers recognizing the "noble" model of this ignoble product; cf. Vossler, *Rom. Forsch.*, 51, 266 and my remark *Neuph. Mitteil.*, 34, 241.

dè mal pus lo pris. Car tan me dura?), the real break is after the sixth syllable. There is a pause after *mal*, too; but this word being the third syllable, the caesura cannot be placed after it. The case of l. 23 (*Qui-l ve, si-s vol tardar de mal destrich*) is less obvious. The sense admits two natural stops: after *ve* and after *tardar*. No caesura is possible after *ve*, this word forming the second syllable. The regular caesura should be after *vol*. The question is whether or not *vol* can be separated from the infinitive *tardar* depending on it. At any rate, the pause after *tardar* (6th syllable) seems to be weightier than one after *vol*. As Cerveri makes use of a decasyllable type 6+4 in l. 3, I see no reason why he should not have done the same thing in l. 23. After all, he was not the only poet to insert decasyllables of that type among others of regular structure.²¹ I gave quite a few examples in *Studi Medievali*, n.s. ix, 144-145. Exceptional as these cases are compared with the mass of regular decasyllables, they no doubt did exist. They may have been used with the idea of giving the flow of equally built lines an occasional and welcome change of rhythm.

TEXT

1. Al fals gelos don Deus mal'aventura,
car lo solatz me tol de mon amich,
3. e'm dè mal, pus lo pris. Car tan me dura?
11. Pero d'aytan me tenc pre be segura
que no viura quatre jorns, aço us dic;
6. que'l pausaray sus el pols tal untura
que l'auzira, lo fals gelos enich.
E a'm fata una bon' escriptura
9. mos amis douz, que sus el col li lic,
e ma mayre que tot jorn lo conjura.
11. Sabetz que'm fa'l gelos laia figura,
can s'es colgatz, sol del dir ay fastich:
l'esquenaça'm gira, c'a negr'e dura
e pus aspra que fuylla de jaric,
15. e pueys rimfla e polsa ses mesura.
Si'n breu de tems de[l] negre m'en abric?
Car anc no vi pus fera criatura.
18. iv. Luyn es de gaug, pres d'ir' e de rancura
qui marit a fexuch, fals ne enich,
qu'eu o sai be per ma desaventura;

21. It is well known that the epic of *Girart de Rossilho* exclusively uses decasyllables of the type 6+4.

21. c'un veyll ruat me deren mey amic,
c'ab sa suor me malvet' e'm madura.
Qui-l ve, si's vol tardar de mal destrich,
24. diga-l que Deus li don bona pastura.
- v. La domn'als Cartz e Sobrepretz atura
valor ab si, e l'Enfans a cor ric
27. de mantener pretz e patz e dretura.

TRANSLATION

i. To the false jealous man may God give bad luck, for he deprives me of the company of my friend and has caused me trouble since I took him. Why does he live so long?

ii. But I think I can be quite sure that he will not live four days longer, I tell you. For I shall put on his temple such an unguent as will kill him, the false jealous scoundrel. And my sweet friend has written for me an efficient spell which I shall fasten to his neck, and my mother casts spells over him every day.

iii. You must know that the jealous man, when he has lain down to sleep, offers to me (such) an unpleasant aspect (that) I feel disgusted only by speaking of it: he turns his backbone towards me, which is black and hard and rougher than oak-leaves, and then he breathes hard and snores beyond measure. (I wonder) whether I shall really free myself in a short time of that abominable man. For never did I see a fiercer creature.

iv. Far from joy and near to sorrow and grief is the one who has an annoying, false and malicious husband, and I know it only too well by my own misfortune; for my friends gave me an old wrinkled man, who with his sweat makes me sick and nauseates me. If a person meets him, and wants to protect himself from bad injury, let him say to him (express to him the wish that) God give him good pasture (for his cattle).

v. The Lady of the Thistles and "Super-Value" keep worth with them, and the Infante shows a noble endeavor to maintain courtliness and peace and justice.

NOTES

1. 3. *dè J. Massó Torrents*, who published ll. 1-3 and 18-24 (*l.c.* 233), reads this line as follows: *E'm fa mal pus lo pris, car tan me dura*. I cannot see how he understands *car tan me dura* nor am I following him in altering the reading of the ms concerning *de*. I suppose *de* stands for *det*. This may be a mistake of the scribe, but not necessarily. For the pret-

erite in *-et* dropping the *t* is also found elsewhere, e.g. in the *Nobla Leyczon*: *recorde, enseigne, done* (see Appel, *Prov. Chrestomathie*, Numbers 108, ll. 1, 3, and 107) and frequently in the Albigensian Chronicle (ed. Paul Meyer, who does not mention this phenomenon in his introduction): *retorne* l. 654, *triguè* 703, *done* or *donè* 986, 1222, 2595, *toque* 991, *intrè* 1015, 1157, 2622, *parlè* 1023, 2998, *apelè* 1457, *anè* 1471, 3734, *cridè* 1681, *rendè* 1688, *amè* 1734, *tomè* 1745, 2691, *estè* or *este*[t] 1901, 4385, 5836, 5908, *retornè* 2235, *redè* 2319, *raubè* 2383, *laissè* 2396, *contè* 2527, *cobré* 2595, *gazanhe* 2690, 2712, *venquè* 2711, *de*[t] 5062.

l. 6. *untura*. I do not know of any ointment actually capable of inducing death. But medieval people spoke of the effect of the so-called witches' unguent which caused women to fall into a death-like sleep produced by narcotics (Schindler, *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters*, Breslau, 1858, page 286) or hyoscyamine-poisoning (A. Lehmann, *Aberglaube und Zauberei*, Stuttgart, 1925, pages 622, 682). Professor Mario Pei has kindly called my attention to a more recent example of the popular belief in the efficiency of such a proceeding. The Milanese pest of 1630, described by Manzoni in his *Promessi Sposi* (chapters 31-32) was believed by many inhabitants of that town to be spread by the so-called *untori*.

l. 8. *una bon' escriptura*. The adjective *bon* has the meaning of "efficient, helpful" here. Tobler-Lommatzsch's dictionary of Old French (II, 1048, 5 ss) gives the definition "heilsam, erspriesslich, foerderlich." The dictionaries of Old Provençal do not seem to know this meaning, but the language no doubt did. Cf. *Guerras ni plaich no son bo Contr' Amor en nuill endreg*, R. de Vaqueiras, Gr. 392, 18 (ed. Kolsen, *Trobadorgedichte*, page 59), 1, 1; *Ai dompna! no'm nogues Pretz ni ricors ab vos! E pus dreitz no'm'es bos*,²² *Sivals vailla'm merces!* Jausb. de Puicibot, Gr. 173, 1, (ed. Shepard page 1), v, 3. Finally another example from Cerveri himself: *Ez eu no trob metge que bos li'n sia*, Gr. 434a, 17 (Ugolini number 24, page 580), II, 12. The *escriptura* obviously is a kind of spell by which the unhappy woman hopes to put an end to her husband's life. I cannot produce the text of such a "writing." But that things of the sort existed is beyond doubt. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923, II, 902, quotes Peter of Albano saying that an incantation may be either spoken, or written and bound on the body, and is especially effective in sleep. William of Auvergne (*l.c.* II, 352) denies that mere words or incantations have the power to kill men or animals as sorcerers claim. But denying this power, he admits the

22. The editor translates: . . . *le bon droit ne me vaut rien*, thus rendering *bos* twice, by *bon* and by *vaut*.

popular belief in it. Lady Wilde, *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland*, London, 1890, page 47 points out that not only are charms and incantations employed for curing diseases, but they are also used to induce disease and death, in the form of maledictions and curses (malific charms).

1.9. *lic <ligo* (from *ligāre*) with *i* instead of *e* (<ɪ), due, according to Schultz-Gora, *Altprov. Elementarbuch*⁵, §27, to the influence of other verbs in *-igare* in which the *i* is long: *castigo*, *fatigo*.

1.10. *e ma mayre que*. . . For this phrase see Tobler, *Vermischte Beitræge* 1, number 36 'Aussage bestehend aus Nomen und Relativsatz.' I am adding some more Provençal examples: *Ladons pogratz vezer tant caval ferveitit Don foron li senhor trabucat e fenit! En* (read: *E'n*) *Guis de Cavalho desobre un arabit Que abatec lo dia Guilheumes de Berlit*, Crois. Alb. (ed. Paul Meyer) ll. 4286-4287; *La lor cort e la vostra essemis ajustaretz, E'ls mals e las rancuras e'ls tortz acordaretz: E els que vos perdono e vos que'ls perdonatz* l. 5381. The last example shows a pronoun instead of a noun. Same construction in: *Senher, dis Auda, garda no m'o celier On es Rollan ni mon frayre Ollivier? Yeu que non vech minga dels XII. biers Ronsasvals* (ed. Roques, *Rom.* 58, 1 ss.) l. 1762. Finally an example from Cerveri himself: *Dona, si moria per vos merceiar, Ja puyz no seria qui'us volgues lauzar, Et hom qui diria: "Dona, Deus vos gar . . ."* Gr. 434a, 24 (Ugolino number 29, p. 589) v, 3. The scholars who dealt with this phrase (Tobler, Mussafia, Chabaneau) emphasized its popular character. So Cerveri made a good choice, using it for his *chanson de mal mariée*.

1.13. *l'esquenaça'm gira*. There being no other evidence of the noun *esquenaça*, one might be tempted to break the word into *esquena* and *ça*. The latter would then be the demonstrative adverb *ça*, employed by the woman because the picture of that terrible *esquena* turned towards her is still (and always) so alive before her eyes that she is speaking of it as though it were "there." Much as this interpretation would add to the strongly marked realistic tendency of the poem, it is unsatisfactory from the metrical viewpoint because it would leave the line without a caesura. So we have to read *esquenaça* (as does the ms), with a lyric caesura after it, and to admit the fact that Cerveri increased by one the small number of Provençal words in *-assa*, that augmentative and often pejorative suffix so living in Spanish (*-azo*, *-aza*). Adams, *Word-formation in Provençal*, New York, 1913, page 142, lists a dozen words of this kind, not all of which could stand a closer examination. But expressions such as *carnasa*, *filasa*, *golasa*, *jornadasa* are pretty sure to belong here. At any rate, if the inhabitants of southern France might not have approved

of Cerveri's neologism, we could attribute it to his being of the Iberian peninsula; there are more traces of hispanisms in his words. As to the fact given in this line, there is a striking similarity to a French song of the sixteenth century—consequently two or three hundred years posterior to Cerveri—quoted by Daehne (*l.c.*, page 175):

*Le vieillart a longue eschine
toute mayct my tourne le cul.*

1. 14. *jaric*. Until now, only the form *garric* has been known. This word, therefore, has to be added to those which show both initials *ga-* and *ja-*, such as *gauzir—jauzir*, *gal—jal*, *gai—jai*, *engan—enjan*, *gardi—iardi* (cf. Appel, *Provenzalische Lautlehre*, Leipzig, 1918, page 56, §44c).

1. 15. *rimfla*. The form *rimflar* has not yet been listed among the phonetic variants of this verb. Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, vii, 367, has: *roflar*, *renflar* and *ronflar*.

1. 16. *si*. The meaning of this *si* is rather doubtful. I see two possibilities of interpreting it: 1. It may be "yet." In this sense, *si* is generally closely connected with a verb, mostly an auxiliary verb or *faire* used as a *verbum vicarium*, and opposing a strongly affirmative statement to a preceding negative one,²³ e.g. *Cosselh n'ai.—Qual?—Vuelh m'en partir.—No far!—Si faray.—Quers ton dan.—P. Rogier Gr. 356, 4* (ed. Appel No. 6) vii, 2; *Qu'az escien m'a donat* (sc. *Amors*) *tal voler Que ja non er vencutz ni el no vens. Vencutz? Si er, qu'aucir m'an li sospire.* Folquet de Marselha, Gr. 155, 22 (ed. Stroński No. 11) 11, 5).²⁴ What makes me hesitate to attribute the meaning of "yet" to the *si* of our passage is the fact that the latter lacks that contradictory element which seems essential to this use of *si*.²⁵—2) *Si* may be "whether" and introduce an indirect question which, with its main clause missing, has the value of an independent interrogative sentence,²⁶ f.i. *Dieus! si pòrai l'ora veder Qu'en puosca pres*

23. Appel, in the vocabulary of his *Chrestomathie* puts it thus: *Nachdrucksvoll, vorausgesetztem Anderssein entgegenend.*

24. For the interpretation of this passage see Schultz-Gora, *Prov. Studien*, Berlin, 1921, p. 141 and Appel, *Zschr. f. rom. Phil.*, 42, 381.

25. I am not sure that we are in the presence of this adversative *si* in the following passage from Gir. de Bornelh, Gr. 242, 59 (ed. Kolsen No. 18) 1, 3: *Can la brun'aura s'eslucha Pel suau termini franc, Era si de joi m'estanc.* The editor puts a question mark at the end of the sentence, which is not right (see Salverda de Grave, *Observations sur l'art lyrique de Giraut de Bornelh*, Amsterdam, 1938, p. 106 and my booklet *Zum Text der Lieder des Giraut de Bornelh*, Florence, 1938, p. 18). If I formerly adopted Kolsen's definition of *si* ("yet"), I find it more than questionable today.

26. Cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, No. 10, with a reference to A. Schulze, *Der altfranzösische direkte Fragesatz*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 195–197. Modern French no longer uses this kind of interrogative sentences nor does the English language. In Modern German they are quite common: "*Ob er wohl mit dem Leben davonkommen wird?*" "*Ob wir ihn wohl jemals wiedersehen?*"

de lei jazer? Eu non, quar vas mi no's vira Cercamon (?) Gr. 112, 3 (ed. Jeanroy No. viii), vi, 5. For this use of *si*, Cerveri himself offers another example: *Las! si'm valria ab merce clamar? Oc . . .*²⁷ Gr. 434a, 24 (Ugolini Number 29, p. 589) iii, 1. This parallel induces me to give our *si* the same meaning, though the note of doubt expressed by the question in a way differs from the confidence the woman shows in ll. 4-5.

l. 16. *m'en abric*. Compared with the preparations made by the woman for killing her husband, the verb *sé abrigar* in its usual sense of "to protect oneself" sounds rather weak. It seems to have developed a more active meaning,²⁸ such as "to free oneself, to get rid of." The dictionaries, it is true, do not list this definition, nor is it to be found in Appel's article *Die Fortfuehrung des Provenzalischen Supplement-Woerterbuchs von Emil Levy* (in the *Behrens-Festschrift*, pp. 168-182) where he deals with *abrigar* (pp. 174-176). But even this supplement to a supplement is not complete,²⁹ so I think the definition proposed here may stay.

l. 17. *Car*. The sentence introduced by *car* gives the reason for the anxious desire expressed in the preceding question. One could as well say that, in the chain of his thoughts, the author omitted one link, such as: "This is absolutely necessary" or "I do hope so." For this stylistic phenomenon see Ebeling, *Behrens-Festschrift*, pp. 77-85 and Schultze-Gora, *Zschr. f. rom. Phil.*, 59, 67.

l. 19. *fexuch* (<*fasce*+*-ucu*) is the Catalan form of Old Provençal *faissuc* and named as such by Meyer-Luebke, *REW* No. 324 (spelt *feixuc* in the 3rd edition). Raynouard, *Lex Rom.*, iii, 249 gives three examples of this word under *faichuc*, *fayshuc*. Levy does not list it at all, either in the *Prov. Suppl. Wb.* or in the *Pet. Dict.* As Raynouard's instances are rather late, it might be convenient to point out that the term already occurs in a poem of Bertran de Born, Gr. 80, 24 (ed. Appel No. 41) ii, 1: *Aital solatz m'avetz faissuc*.

l. 22. *me malvet'e'm madura*. Massó Torrents (see note to l. 3) has *malvet*. I wonder what he thinks this form to be, and how he understands these two verbs, which offer serious problems from the phonetic as well as the semantic point of view. 1) *Malvet'*. If the ms is right, we cannot but see in this word a form (3rd pers. pres. tense) of *malvetar*, a

27. Translation: "Poor me! (I wonder) whether I could help myself by imploring her mercy?—Yes."

28. Something of the sort happened in Old French, though in another direction; cf. the phrase *abriier aucun de mort*, which means "to put someone to death" in the two examples given by Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranz. Woerterbuch* i, p. 65, 25-29.

29. Cf. the following passage from Guillem Rainol Gr. 231, 2 (ed. Appel, *Poésies provençales . . . tirées des manuscrits d'Italie*, p. 62; reprint from *Rev. des langues rom.* 34), where *abrigar* takes the sense of "to conceal, to disguise": *Mas trob n'i trob de savais Abridatz sotz bel parer*.

verb of which no evidence has been found yet. This verb must be closely connected, if not identical with *malavejar*, *malavechar*, though the latter, according to the dictionaries (see Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, v, 55) is intransitive, meaning "to be ill," while *malvetar* is no doubt transitive, meaning "to make ill." As to its form, it seems to be a contamination of *malavejar* + *malvat* and *mala(u)t*³⁰ (Levy, *l.c.* p. 51), the adjectives having reduced the stem of the verb to two syllables and provided it with its last consonant, the *t*.³¹ The great variety of forms in which each of these words appears as well as their closely connected meanings may have led them to influence each other in their phonetic structures.—2) *madura*. The oldest Provençal evidence of the verb *madurar* is in *Sancta Fides* (l. 415). In his edition of this poem, Hoepffner does not fail to point out that the verb, listed in the dictionaries as transitive only, is neuter in that passage. But the definition he gives of it is too weak, I think. The line, speaking of the saintly girl's dead body, runs thus: *La carnz ol bon, con plus madura*. Hoepffner renders *madurar* with "avancer en âge." The adjective *madur* no doubt also had the meaning, not listed in the dictionaries of "old" (cf. Bertoni, *Arch. rom.*, 13, 447), and the verb *madurar* is likely to have followed the adjective in all its meanings. But in the case of *Sancta Fides*, the definition "to advance in age" is not quite to the point. First it is a strange idea to think of a dead body as growing older, and then, what the author of the saint's Life wants to say is, I suppose, this: while other dead bodies are putrefying and exhaling a nauseous smell, that of *Sancta Fides* spreads an agreeable odor. If this is right, *madurar* has here the sense of "to decay, to putrefy." A. Thomas probably had something similar in mind when he defined the verb by "mûrir (appliqué à un cadavre)" in the vocabulary of his edition of the same poem (*Class. franç. du moyen âge* No. 45). It may not appear quite decent in this connection to speak of something so prosaic as cheese. But the truth is that the word *madur* was applied to cheese (as is "ripe" in English). Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wb.* v, 5 quotes the following passage: *Lo quintal dels fromages vieilhs et madurs*. Here, too, I think, the idea of rottenness and bad smell is underlying. This throws some

30. Cf. the long list of such hybrid forms in Appel, *Prov. Lautlehre*, pp. 100-101.

31. This *t* is also found in Old Prov. *malautetar* (Levy, *l.c.* 52).—The existence of the adjective *malavet*, listed by Levy (*l.c.* 56 and *Pet. Dict.*) would have been a welcome help to explain *malvetar*. But Levy canceled it in the *Errata* of the *Pet. Dict.*, I think after A. Thomas's article in *Rom.* 37, 306-308 (cf. also Hoepffner, *La Chanson de Sainte Foy*, Paris, 1926, 1, 63 and 107 and note 5). The right form of this adjective is *malève*, the feminine of which, *malvéda*, led Levy to claim an adjective* *malavet*. The existence of a noun *malavet* for *malavech* supposed by him on the ground of the nominative *malavetz* (Crois. Alb. 1.8136) is no less questionable. The *laisse* in which it occurs offers, besides a great number of words ending in *-etz* (= *-et + s*), such as *auzeletz*, *setz*, *quetz*, *trobetz*, a few others whose *-etz* represents *-eg + s*, e.g. *fretz* (< *frigidus*), *letz* (= *lege + s*), *corretz* (= *corrigiu + s*).

light on a line from Raïmbaut de Vaqueiras (or d'Aurenga?), Gr. 392, 5 (Mahn, *Gedichte* No. 217) v, 4, which Levy (*l.c.*) reproduces from Raynouard and for which he has no explanation: *Quar anc Caym qu'aucis Abel no saup de tracion un ou Contra lieys. Mas ieu par ybres Quar li dic don sui madurs, St'm carga lo col e'm maca.* The poet is so filled, so "rotten ripe,"³² so "fed up," he feels so sick (as if he were drunk) with all the treacheries of his lady that he speaks of her bad behavior, thus violating the laws of courtly decency. Here we have the adjectives *ybre* and *madur* side by side. Cerveri similarly couples the verbs *malvetar* and *madurar* "to make feel sick" and "to cause nausea."

1. 23. The connection between this line and what precedes is not manifest on sight. The trend of thought which the author attributes to his heroine is likely to be this. The idea of her sweating husband suggests to her the work he is accustomed to do: toiling in the field. Contemptuously she looks down upon him whose only care is his "pasture."³³

tardar. None of the nine definitions which Levy (*Prov. Suppl. Wb.*, VIII, 62) lists for this verb fits our passage. To make the sense clear, it would be simple to change *tardar* into *gardar*. But why should a scribe have substituted a verb of unusual meaning and construction (*sé tardar de*) for the well-known and clear *sé gardar de*? So I think we had better keep the reading of the MS, though the use of *tardar* is strange enough. Its peculiarity seems to consist in this: 1) The action indicated by *tardar* is an understatement; what is meant to be a prevention is given as a postponement, a delay. But it must be kept in mind that the English verb "to delay" may also be employed with the sense of "to hinder" (Oxford Dictionary). 2) In the construction of *sé tardar de*, the person and the thing connected with the verb seem to have exchanged their roles. The thing should be kept away from the person, not the person from the thing, which is what the phrase actually says. Not quite the same, but something similar can be observed with the verb *tolre*. If we compare the following two passages from Giraut de Bornelh: *E'm tolh*

32. "The term New Deal is rotten ripe for burial" (New York *World Telegram*, 24 December 1943).

33. The following two passages quoted by Daehne (*l.c.* p. 77 and p. 140), one from a poem of about 1600, the other still more recent, sound like an echo of Cerveri's:

- a) *La nuit que couchay avec luy,
après ma longue attente,
il me jura qu'il n'avait point
de bonne avoyne à vendre.*
- b) *La première nuit de nos noces,
au lieu d'être un amoureux,
il ne fit que me parler
de ses vaches et de ses bœufs.*

afan bona fes e vertatz (Gr. 242, 20=Kolsen No. 46, l. 95) and *Qu'era'm tolh de mal e d'engan* (Gr. 242, 29=Kolsen No. 22, l. 41) we also find a double aspect of the action with regard to persons and things. While in the first of these sentences the thing (*afan*) is taken away from the person (*m=me*), in the second the person (*me*) is taken away from the thing (*mal* and *engan*). As a matter of fact, Kolsen translates the two cases differently, the first by "befreien von," the second by "ablassen von"; but in both cases, the Provençal verb remains the same, *i.e.* *tolre*.

l. 25. *atura*. The singular of a verb having two coordinate nouns as subjects is not rare in Provençal; cf. the examples given by me in *Neuphil. Mitteil.* 39 (1938), pages 251-254. The *Donn'als Cartz* and *Sobrepretz* appear in the envoys of nearly everyone of Cerveri's poems (see Kolsen, *Beitraege zur altprov. Lyrik*, Florence, 1939, page 13 and Massó Torrents, *Repertori*, page 183); they form a kind of unity for him, which justifies the singular of the verb to a certain degree.

l. 26. *l'Enfans*. The Infante is the later Peter III of Aragon.

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CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY ON LA BOÉTIE

THE FOLLOWING BIBLIOGRAPHY seeks to be complete. It is offered as an "état présent des études sur La Boétie" and terminates with a brief summary of the La Boétie record as now viewed by scholars and critics. Newspaper articles on the occasion of the fourth centenary of La Boétie (1930) have been omitted, as well as four articles¹ between 1860 and 1900 contributing little of biographical or literary value. The most active period centered about this author's name begins in the twentieth century with the Dispute on Authorship, section v.

The following abbreviations are used:

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| LaB, | La Boétie | MSSM, | Mémoires de la société des sciences morales et politiques de Seine et Oise |
| M, | Montaigne | | |
| Arm, | Armaingaud | | |
| AAB, | Actes de l'Académie de Bordeaux | RB, | Revue bleue |
| AM, | Annales du Midi | REH, | Revue des études historiques |
| BAM, | Bulletin des amis de Montaigne | RFr, | Revue de France |
| | | RHB, | Revue historique de Bordeaux |
| BHAP, | Bulletin historique et archéologique du Périgord | RHL, | Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France |
| BSHP, | Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français | RPP, | Revue politique et parlementaire |
| | | RPhB, | Revue philomathique de Bordeaux |
| IF, | Institut de France, Académie des sciences morales et politiques | RR, | Romanic Review |
| | | RSS, | Revue du seizième siècle |
| MerF, | Mercur de France | WR, | Westminster Review |

I—SOURCE BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Lanson, Gustave, *Manuel bibliographique*, Paris, Hachette, 1921, nos. 2359-2376.
2. Giraud, Jeanne, *Manuel de bibliographie littéraire*, Paris, Vrin, 1939, p. 37; 13 later entries.
3. See *Contr'un*, Payen ed., II, 2h, for bibliography to 1853; *Œuvres*, Bonnefon ed., II, 1c, most complete to 1892; Plattard, *Etat présent des études sur Montaigne*, v, 24, for recent bibliography.

1. The articles omitted are the following: Deberly, Albert, *Etude sur La Boétie*, Amiens, 1864; Habasque, Francisque, *Un magistrat au 16^e siècle: La Boétie*, Agen, 1876; Magne, Eugène, *Etude sur La Boétie*, Périgueux, 1877; Boncour, P. J., *La Boétie et les origines de la liberté moderne*, Revue sociologique, 1900.

II—EDITIONS

1. *Œuvres*:

- a) Ed. prepared by Montaigne, chez Morel, Paris, 1571, 2 v., contains the translations from Xenophon and Plutarch, the poems in Latin and French and M's letter on the death of LaB, each piece with a dedicatory epistle by M. Missing are the *Contr'un* and *Mémoire sur l'édit de 1562*.
- b) Ed. Feugère, Paris, Delalain, 1846.
- c) Ed. Bonnefon, Paris, Rouam, 1892.
- d) *Mémoire sur l'Edit de janvier, 1562*, finally discovered by Bonnefon, printed with the *Contr'un*, Paris, Bossard, 1922; see below Patry, iv, 25, for review.

2. *Discours de la servitude volontaire (le Contr'un)*:

- a) Anonymous fragment in Latin, *Dialogi ab Eusebio Philadelpha, Edimburgi* (Bâle?), 1574, at end of 2nd dialogue.
- b) Anonymous, without opening paragraphs, *Le Réveille-Matin des François*, Paris, Edimbourg (Lausanne), 1574.
- c) Anonymous, complete, *Mémoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles neufiesme*, S. Goulart, Genève, 1576, and Meidlebourg, 1577 and 1578, iii.
- d) For the first time appended to M's *Essais*, Coste ed., vi, Genève, 1727, 1729, and 1745; London, Nourse, 1739 and 1745; thereafter, in most editions of M.
- e) *Discours de Marius plébéen et consul, traduit en prose et en vers français du latin de Salluste, suivi du Discours d'Etienne de la Boétie de la servitude volontaire, traduit du français de son temps en français d'aujourd'hui*, par l'Ingénu, soldat dans le régiment de Navarre, 1789 (ed. mentioned by Ste.-Beuve, iv, 31).
- f) *L'Ami de la Révolution ou Philippiques dédiées aux représentants de la nation, aux gardes nationales, et à tous les Français*, Paris, 1790. 8th Philippic, pp. 137-143 has a supplement "Discours sur la servitude et la liberté extrait d'Etienne de la Boétie."
- g) Separately, in Paris, Delance, 1802; Chamerad, 1835; Daubrée et Cailleux (Lamennais preface), 1835; Reschatelet (Charles Leste), Brussels and Paris, 1836.
- h) All preceding use text of c). Payen gives first ed. of Henri de Mesmes ms., Bibl. Nat. no. 839, Didot, 1853, basis of all subsequent ed., Vermorel, 1863; Jouaust (Bibliophiles), 1872.
- i) *Œuvres de Montaigne*, xi, ed. Armaingaud, Paris, Conard, 1939, prints in italics passages interpolated by M according to editor.

III—TRANSLATIONS

The *Contr'un* in English, (Coste ed.), Smith, London, 1735; *Anti-Dictator*, Kurz, (de Mesmes ms.) New York, 1942; in Italian, Parabelli, Naples, 1800 and Fanfani, Milan, 1864 (both Coste); in German, *Freiwillige Knechtschaft*, Boenheim, Malik-Verlag, Berlin, 1924; also in English translation of the 29 sonnets in chapter xxix of the *Essais*, Louis How, Boston, 1915.

IV—STUDIES

1. Aublé, E., *Esquisse sur la vie et les ouvrages de La Boétie*, MSSM, xiii (1883), 116-128. Emphasizes youth and warmth of *Contr'un* and its importance as first of political pamphlets, though not addressed to a particular tyrant. Appreciates its Latin strength and French vividness. Analysis of LaB's poems. Calls M's letter on LaB's death the French *De Amicitia*. Study is warm, appreciative, source of oft quoted phrases on LaB's true quality.
2. Barrère, Joseph, *Observations sur quelques ouvrages politiques anonymes du 16^e siècle*, RHL, xxi (1914), 375-386. Important study on the *Réveille-Matin*, among others, with comparison of Latin and French versions of *Contr'un*, and decision based on various uses of the term "Franco-gallia" that François Hotman was translator of LaB (II, 2a) as well as general editor of the two volumes containing the first French printing of the *Contr'un* (II, 2b, c).
3. Baudrillart, Henri, *J. Bodin et son temps*, Paris, Guillaumin, 1853. Contains good analysis (pp. 67-73) of *Contr'un*, and of its use by Protestants. Thinks we are inclined to exaggerate its importance today.
4. Boenheim, Felix, Preface to *Freiwillige Knechtschaft*, transl. of *Contr'un*, Berlin, 1924, p. 8. Valuable for its indications of history of essay in Germany. Refers to its issue (during French Revolution) in *Neuen Deutschen Merkur* by Wieland with quotations on democracy from that poet and from Kant.
5. Bonnefon, Paul, *Montaigne, l'homme et l'œuvre*, Paris, Rouam, 1893. In Chap. III (pp. 91-98) "Montaigne magistrat," interesting contrasts in the careers of the two men as judges at Bordeaux.
6. Bonnefon, Paul, Introduction (p. 85) to his ed. of *Œuvres* (II, 1c), most complete study available of life, works, and relation to M. Appendix (pp. 119) contains textual notes, biographical documents, and bibliography to 1892.
7. Bonnefon, Paul, *Montaigne et ses amis*, Paris, Colin, 1898, 2 v. I has large section on LaB (pp. 105-224) consisting of four chapters,

- "Vie, Discours de la Servitude Volontaire, Traducteur et poète, La Boétie et Montaigne." Much of this material already presented in the Bonnefon ed. of *Œuvres*, but this study is better organized and brought up to date by the best specialist, and beautifully told. Footnotes report specific recent findings (ex. influence of Cardinal Gaddi, p. 109; identification of Longa, p. 114, additional family papers, career as judge, tax conditions). Asks (p. 156) if M might have made changes in *Contr'un*, but admits that LaB at Orléans, under influence of liberal Anne du Bourg, might have done so. LaB's erudition as translator from classics is closely analyzed. Last chapter shows that others beside M felt peculiar personal charm of LaB: Lambert Daneau, fellow student, Baïf, Dorat. This remains still the best study of life and works of LaB. [Reviewed *RHL*, v, (1898), 647-650, by Louis Clément.]
8. Claretie, Jules, *La Libre Parole*, Paris, Librairie internationale, 1868. Has a chapter on LaB (pp. 147-157). Keen analysis of 16th century as marking a renaissance of human liberty through the growth of a new force, public opinion. This background gives strong credence to LaB as writing against the savageries of Montmorency at Bordeaux. In the *Contr'un* can be seen emergence of "liberté, égalité, fraternité." Author sees in portrait of tyrant traits of Henri II. Clear adherence to notion that *Contr'un* is a tract for the time of 1548, with the added qualities that give it immortality.
 9. Combes, François, *Essai sur les idées politiques de Montaigne et la Boétie*, Bordeaux, 1882, pp. 57. Traces reference to the "mignons" in the *Contr'un* to the court of François II. See DISPUTE, v: Armain-gaud, Bonnefon, Villey.
 10. Demeure, Fernand, *Montaigne et La Boétie*, *MerF*, CCXLV (July, 1933), 206-212. Analysis of M's contradictory statements on date of composition of *Contr'un*. Attributes these to forgetfulness and embarrassment at subject matter of *Discours*, with attempt to minimize its contemporary significance. Shows that LaB is true predecessor of Bodin, Hotman, Languet.
 11. Desjardins, Albert, *Les Moralistes Français au 16^e siècle*, Paris, Didier, 1870. Chapter on LaB (pp. 131-146) keen interpretation of his unique personality and his teaching in *Contr'un* that dignity and moral significance of individual can render an imposed tyranny ineffective.
 12. Dezeimeris, Reinhold, *De la renaissance des lettres à Bordeaux au 16^e siècle*, *AAB*, 3^e série, 25^e année (1853), 525-584. In this enthusiastic essay the pages referring to LaB (557-563) recreate the enthusiasm

animating him and his group. *Contr'un* is not a revolutionary tract, is instead a Philipian against indifference of people. Of special interest is a listing of citations from LaB and Rousseau, showing similar faith in forces of democracy. Explains that LaB did not write mere declamation, language shows he was sincere. He believed what he said, like Descartes and Pascal. Calls *Contr'un* "Provinciale contre l'abandon des droits de tous au profit d'un seul."

13. Dezeimeris, Reinhold, *Remarques et corrections de La Boétie sur le traité de Plutarque intitulé Eroticus*, Bordeaux, 1868, pp. 80. Comments on the Bibl. Nat. copy of the Ferron transl. of Plutarch containing some 101 notes by LaB showing extent of his collaboration with Ferron and his excellence as a Hellenist.
14. Feugère, Léon, *Etienne de la Boétie, ami de Montaigne*, Paris, Labitte, 1845, pp. 309. Significant early study marking revival of interest in LaB. "Avant-propos" is valuable for sketch of neglect of LaB in 17th century. Despite title, 75 pp. are devoted to Fr. lit. before LaB. Study on LaB valuable when it deals with his classical background. There are two appendices, on LaB as a Latin poet, and on his prose translations. Accepts Bordeaux revolt as inspiration of *Contr'un*. Leisurely résumé of LaB's French poems and of the *Contr'un*. On the whole, discursive but pioneering.
15. Kurz, Harry, Introduction to *Anti-Dictator*, transl. into Eng. of *Contr'un*, New York, 1942, pp. 14. Remarks on curious history of the essay, its reappearance at times of crisis, and its political interpretation.
16. Laborde-Milaà, A., *La Boétie et Montaigne*, *REH*, LXVIII (1902), 362-368. Note inversion in title of article. Author shows clearly that LaB was stronger, maturer, more positive personality and left permanent mark on M and his thought. When they first meet, LaB is more than two years older, has acquired definite reputation, is married to an elderly widow, has foster children. The friendship lasting six years is then traced with indications of LaB's presumable initiative in the relationship.
17. Lamennais, Hugues-Félicité-Robert de, Preface to the ed. of *Contr'un* chez Hauman, Bruxelles, 1836, pp. 42. Mainly oratorical praise about liberty-loving youth who wrote essay but interesting to see what facts are current about LaB before Feugère and Payen. Contains excellent résumé of the *Contr'un* with well chosen citations. Lamennais is sure that no more dictatorships are possible in Europe.
18. Lénient, Charles, *La Satire en France ou la littérature militante au 16^e*

- siècle*, 2 v. in 1, Paris, Hachette, 1886. Chapter on LaB (1, 287-295) important for two sources on inspiration of *Contr'un*: a) Bordeaux revolt against taxation in 1548 and cruel Montmorency punishment, quoting Jacques Auguste de Thou's Latin reference to the *Spontanea Servitute* in his *Historiarum sui temporis*, liber cxxxviii, Londres, 1733, p. 136; b) Agrippa d'Aubigné's anecdote, *Histoire Universelle*, Amsterdam, 1726, 1, 670.
19. Lugli, Vittorio, *Une amitié illustre*, Nuova Italia, Florence, 1935, pp. 63. Analysis of M's letter on LaB's death, then details of M's dedications of LaB mss. to various contemporaries, references to LaB in the *Essais*. Interprets attitude toward "amitié" in *Contr'un* which accounts for M's attraction to LaB, also the 3 Latin poems addressed by LaB to M. Attempts to date 1, 28 of *Essais* as of 1573, with indication of role of this friendship in M's career.
 20. Lyons, J. C., *Conceptions of the Republic in French Literature of the Sixteenth Century: Etienne de la Boétie and François Hotman*, RR, xxi (October, 1930), 296-307. Examines political doctrines in *Servitude Volontaire* and *Franco-Gallia*. Considers LaB's digressions pointless and *Contr'un* as lacking progressive unity. Passing reference to Armaingaud dispute. It is questionable that LaB even considers the Republic in his essay. The Hotman section of this study is more extensive.
 21. Marcel, Dieu (pseud. of Hem Day), *Etienne de la Boétie*, Bibliothèque de l'aristocrate, Cahier ciii, Paris, Debesse, 1939, pp. 72. Preface relates *Contr'un* to World War II, tyrant replaced by "servitude collective." The essay itself presents little of value, consists of long quotations from Feugère, Lamennais, Ste.-Beuve, and barely one mention of Bonnefon. Last chapter "Esprit éternel" is best, showing that LaB teaches that tyranny crumbles by inner revolution in the slave, not by acts of external violence.
 22. Maubourguet, Jean, *Notes sur La Boétie*, BHAP, LXII (January 1935), 248-255. Report of newly found text in Archives de Dordogne. Facts on the Boyt Family of Sarlat, ancestors of LaB. Goes back to 1470 and gives family tree of Etienne. Listing of property and dates when acquired. Career of Antoine, father of Etienne. Boyt > Boytia for the estate, then Boytie by 1520. Pronunciation in 16th century of name spelled by M in *Essais*, La Boitie. Study of Etienne's uncle, curé de Bouilhonnac, Etienne's protector when orphaned. Terms of LaB's will leaving all to uncle except library to M.
 23. Maze-Sencier, Georges, *Les Vies closes*, Paris, Perrin, 1902. First essay (pp. 2-84) is on LaB. Describes the moderates in 16th cen-

tury sectarian disputes, l'Hospital, Pasquier, Montaigne, shows how they prepare way for accession of Henri IV. Into this background he fits LaB. Skilful psychological approach to LaB as a liberal of his time with excellent résumé of political concepts expressed in *Contr'un*. Insists that LaB was not a "révolté," but one whose views led him to admiration of former republics of Sparta and Venice. A charming and sensitive biographical essay.

24. Monzie, Etienne de, *La Boétie d'après de nouveaux documents*, RFr, xxiv (August 1877), 503-528. Study of his coat of arms, pronunciation of his name, family background, relationship with M, his bookplate Pax et Lex, the cases he tried as judge, his death, M's choice of a "parrain" for each ms. included in his ed. of LaB.
25. Patry, H., *Etienne de la Boétie et l'Edit du 17 janvier, 1562*, BSHP, LXXII (April, 1923), p. 116-121. Brief dependable outline of LaB's concept of the causes of religious strife and the solution to be sought in France. Sidelight on LaB's devout Catholicism coupled with understanding of Church weakness; LaB liberal enough to abolish statues and relics from church as unessential but insistent on maintenance of one church in state. This article, really a review of the Bossard ed. of LaB's *mémoire* turned up by Bonnefon (II, 1d), reveals its real significance in the religious history of this period. LaB is a radical thinker, in the true tradition of the spirit of the *Contr'un*.
26. Payen, J. F., *Notice bio-bibliographique sur La Boétie*, Paris, Firmin Didot, 1853. The 70 pp. preface of the author's ed. of *Contr'un* based on De Mesmes ms. Sections on family of LaB, his career, friendship with M, fate of his mss., his death, all so accurately treated that only Bonnefon really adds new elements. Clarifying comments (p. 42) on 29 sonnets in *Essais*, I, 29, and 25 more in M's ed. of *Œuvres*. Ends with list of 33 possible sources of references to LaB, some of them 17th century, most between 1835 and 1853, useful to mark growing interest from Lamennais to Feugère to Payen.
27. Plattard, Jean, *Montaigne et son temps*, Paris, Boivin, 1933, chap. iv, pp. 57-80, "Etienne de la Boétie, un ami." Points out extraordinary admiration of M for LaB. Explains it partly on basis of LaB's culture. Footnote contains excellent résumé of contentions in the dispute on the authorship of *Contr'un*. Examines possible influence of LaB on M's political ideals through analysis of *Mémoire sur l'édit de janvier 1562*, promulgated by Catherine de Médicis at instigation of Michel de l'Hospital. Also comments on 29 sonnets included in

- the *Essais*. [Reviewed *RHL*, XLII (1935), 601-604, by Paul Lau-
monier.]
28. Prévost-Paradol, L. A., *Etude sur La Boétie*, Périgueux, 1864, later
included in the *Etudes sur les moralistes français*, Paris, 1865, pp. 41-
78. Part I begins with analysis of friendship between LaB and M,
follows with character and psychology of LaB, ends with a résumé
of *Contr'un*. Warm, appreciative study. Part II is a political analysis
of *Contr'un* as a relative concept of "obéissance raisonnable" deriv-
ing from LaB's fundamental concept of individual's sense of inner
dignity. Where there is no humiliation, there is no servitude. Essay
has permanent value as a document on relationship of the people and
their government.
 29. Réaume, Eugène, *Les Prosateurs français du 16^e siècle*, Paris, Didier,
1869, pp. 181-195 on LaB. A charming sensitive essay on the
friendship with M. References to other illustrious friendships of the
16th century. Eloquent appreciation of vigor of *Contr'un* attributed
here to tax reprisals at Bordeaux. Does not accept M's attempt to
minimize its significance. Recognizes anti-Machiavellian tone of
LaB.
 30. Riveline, Maurice. *Montaigne et l'amitié*, Paris, Alcan, 1939, pp. 40-
123. Chapter II, "l'Amitié de M pour LaB," has thorough treatment,
with frequent juxtaposition of quotations from both authors, of their
preparation for meeting and subsequent unique relationship, throws
psychological light on it from modern point of view including
Nietzsche (p. 51), has long analysis of M's letter on death of LaB.
Then Chapter III takes up account of 20 years of M's life after death
of his friend, showing his deprivation as indicated frequently in *Es-
sais*, study of his attitude on women, the publication of LaB's works
and dedications, his relations with contemporaries (Charron, Mlle.
de Gournay, pp. 102-110), summation of his attitude on friendship;
thorough scholarly presentation by judicious choice of textual testi-
mony. [Reviewed *BAM*, VII (October 1939), 120, Anon.]
 31. Sainte-Beuve, C.-A., "Etienne de la Boétie," in *Causeries du lundi*,
3rd ed., IX, 140-161, Nov. 1853. Discusses Feugère and Payen ed.
of *Œuvres*. Sketches life of LaB, compares him to Vauvenargues.
Considers *Contr'un* a mere classroom product, admires its vigor.
Charming analysis of "amitié-passion." Essay still enchants with
its urbanity and adroit flow from literature into life. Contains Ste-
Beuve's own translation of large section of LaB's Latin "épîtres"
to his friend.
 32. Schmidt, H., *Etienne de la Boétie's Discours de la Servitude Volontaire*

und seine Beziehungen zu der Staatspolitischen Schriften des 16 Jahrhunderts in Frankreich, thesis, Marburg, Bauer, 1934, pp. 66. Begins with a 3 pp. bibliography. Has eight chapters tracing specific political ideas found in *Contr'un* through Calvin, Machiavelli, Hotman, Du Plessis-Mornay, Bodin, with a final flash ahead to Rousseau. Ex: "Tyrannenmord" or regicide, how LaB shies off (though not according to Armaingaud), how it excites interest in 16th century, disappears in 17th, re-emerges with Rousseau. Clear treatment, for each political writer, of special quality of his doctrine. Comparison of LaB and Rousseau stresses their common quality of "pitié pour l'humanité," both of them independent of history, both revolutionaries. Schmidt admires passive resistance, does not attribute a system of government to LaB but sees clearly the true strength of the *Contr'un*.

33. Stapfer, Paul, *Montaigne*, Grands Écrivains, Paris, Hachette, 1895. Chapter on LaB (pp. 19-25) has curious analysis of M as a non-sentimentalist with two exceptions in his life, his father and his friend.
34. Stapfer, Paul, *La Famille et les amis de Montaigne*, Paris, Hachette, 1896. Chapter on LaB (pp. 129-156) gives full account of LaB's censorship of plays at Collège de Guyenne, his trip to Paris on behalf of Bordeaux tribunal, his efforts to conciliate sectarians at Agen. All this already reported in Bonnefon preface. Stapfer accepts Bordeaux revolt as inspiration for *Contr'un* on ground that while essay is a classical exercise, its anger and fire are stirred by definite provocation.
35. Tallemant des Réaux, *Les Historiettes*, 3me éd. revue par Paulin Paris et Monmerqué, Paris, 1862. I, 433, tells the famous story of Richelieu asking to see a copy of the *Contr'un* mentioned in the *Essais*, finally procured ingeniously by the book dealer Blaise.
36. Tiddeman, L. E., *Friends of Montaigne*, WR, CLIX (January 1903), 29-39. Analysis of relationship between M and Mlle de Gournay and LaB. Psychological differences between the men, emphasizing LaB's strength of character and moral influence on M.
37. Tilley, Arthur, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, 2v., Cambridge, 1904. In II, 138-140, author dismisses Bordeaux revolt genesis of *Contr'un* and tries to reconcile M's divergent accounts. M would not know when LaB wrote the *Discours*, whether at 16 or 18. LaB could have revised it, 1550-1552, inserting references to La Pléiade. This explanation coincides with Bonnefon's theory that LaB was at U. of Orleans, influenced by Anne du Bourg, his

law professor. This revision later would help account for comparative maturity of style. [Reviewed *Modern Language Quarterly*, vii, No. 2.]

38. Tilley, Arthur, *Studies in the French Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 298-302. Has detailed description of *Réveille-Matin des François* (1574), in which appears long extract of *Contr'un*. Authorship and editorship of 2v. of *Réveille-Matin* examined. Tilley inclined to view LaB's work as a schoolboy declamation, but its use at this time is significant. [Reviewed *RSS*, x, 112-114 (1923), by J. Plattard.]
39. Villey, Pierre, *Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne*, Grands événements littéraires, Paris, Malfère, 1932. Interesting to note that this scholar in tracing evolution of *Essais* disposes of LaB's influence in one page (p. 20), but changes in his next study.
40. Villey, Pierre, *Montaigne*, Paris, Rieder, 1933. Clear analysis of LaB's significance as a writer inspired by classical studies, this forming basis of M's admiration for him (pp. 22-28). Much importance attributed to LaB's *Mémoire sur l'édit de janvier, 1562*, as influencing M's political thinking. Ends with good analysis of the background needed to understand attitude of both men towards the problem of the single religious sect. [Reviewed *RHL*, xl (1933), 594-596, by Daniel Mornet.]

V—DISPUTE ON AUTHORSHIP OF *CONTR'UN*

(chronological arrangement)

1. Armaingaud, A., *La Boétie et Montaigne*, IF, CLXI (64^e année, nouvelle série, 1904), premier semestre, 640-643. First statement in 6 points of author's suspicion of M's role in appearance of the *Contr'un* under Protestant auspices and preliminary conclusion of M's complicity.
2. Armaingaud, A., *Montaigne et La Boétie*, RPP, XLVII (March 1906), 499-522 and XLVIII (May 1906), 322-348. Full explanation of grounds on which he maintains that M interpolated and reworded passages in the *Contr'un* and handed it to be used by Protestants after Bartholomew massacre. The satire is pointed at Henri III. Historical identifications of references in the *Contr'un*. Date of the use of the term "mignon" fixed at 1575, therefore this word slipped into essay for timely propagandist purposes. M is not always straightforward in the *Essais* about his family and friends. Strongly persuasive and scholarly study.
3. Monbrun, A. de La V., *Autour de Montaigne et de la Boétie*, BHAP, xxxiv (1907), 253-266 and 421-451. Also, Picard, Paris, n.d. All

Périgord, insulted at Arm's allegations, rushes to defense of M's character. This article, however, is solidly done. It answers the textual points raised by Arm, weakens his identification of the tyrant by comparing dates, shows patriotism in essay, not revolutionary doctrine, stresses relation between M and Henri III, advances explanations for M's inconsistency in the chapter on Friendship. The possible interpolations in *Contr'un* are attributed to Protestants who published the essay and M's brother Beauregard is suggested as the one who furnished the ms. For answer to all these points, see Armaingaud, *Montaigne pamphlétaire*, No. 15, pp. 135-139.

4. Bonnefon, P., *La Boétie, Montaigne et le Contr'un*, RPP, LI (January 1907), 107-126. Takes up one by one arguments of Arm, showing different history of the *Mémoire sur l'édit de 1562* of which there was only one ms. in M's possession, and the *Contr'un*, an early work, of which several mss. circulated before the two men met. Also shows reasons why M refused to publish the essay and could not have been guilty of the infamy to his friend's memory suggested by Arm. Strong scholarly presentation of majority view. For Arm's answer, see No. 15, pp. 91-135.
5. Strowski, F., *A propos de Montaigne*, RPhB, x (February 1907), 59-72. A section on M and his political action. Close analysis of three earliest versions of the *Contr'un* and decision that it is entirely LaB's work. Excellent refutation of Arm's arguments, explaining M's hesitation about publishing the essay. For Arm's answer, see No. 15, pp. 140-165.
6. Champion, Edmé, *Montaigne et les Huguenots*, RB, March 23, 1907, (available in Armaingaud's *Montaigne pamphlétaire*, pp. 323-333). After résumé of Arm's main points, author accepts evidence favoring identification of tyrant with Henri III, convinced that certain passages in *Contr'un* are directed against him. Since LaB could not have written them, M did so presumably. Author then tries to explain why M did not change inappropriate sentences in *Essais*, I, 28. Answer, to cover his tracks since he was giving the *Contr'un* to be used by the Protestants. Interesting study by mere fact it is the only one accepting Arm's thesis.
7. Villey, Pierre, *Le Vritable Auteur du Discours de la Servitude Volontaire, Montaigne ou la Boétie?* RHL, XIII (October 1906), 727-736. Refutation of Arm's thesis. Detailed comparison of three early versions. *Réveille-Matin*, *Mémoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX*, and de Mesmes ms. Slight differences have caused confusion of Arm. Minimizes application of details on tyrants in essay to Henri

III, showing they are conventional concepts. Villey considers the *Contr'un* an inspired "travail d'école," as Ste.-Beuve put it, "un des mille forfaits classiques qui se commettent au sortir de Tite-Live et de Plutarque." Convincing study. For Arm's reply, see No. 15, pp. 199-216.

8. Bonnefon, Paul, *Post Scriptum*, added to Villey article, *RHL*, xiii (October 1906), 737-741. Shows that in October 1574, the *Mémoires sur l'Etat de France sous Charles IX* are mentioned by the scrupulous Pierre l'Estoile in his "registre-journal," and this date is too early to apply to Henri III, as maintained by Arm. Adds that if M wanted to aid Protestants, the LaB *Mémoire sur l'édit de 1562* would have been more apt. Such action, however not consistent with character of M. Concludes that several mss. were available of the *Contr'un*, one of which was seized by Protestants for their purpose. Very convincing.
9. Armaingaud, A., *Réponse à M. Bonnefon sur La Boétie*, *RPP*, lvi (April 1907), 128-150. Answer leveled at Bonnefon, Strowski and Villey. Stresses that M's act in giving his friend's essay to be used as a weapon against a murderous tyranny was not a villainy, but what LaB himself would have done. Also in consonance with M's prudence, well-known sympathy with Henri IV, and indignation at the Massacre.
10. Armaingaud, A., *Le Vritable Auteur du Discours de la Servitude Volontaire*, *RHL*, xvi (April 1909), 354-370. Contains: a) *Réponse à M. Villey*, b) *Réponse à M. Bonnefon*, c) *Un dernier mot*, by Villey. Important presentation of Arm's arguments directed against points made by his opponents. Invokes further historical identifications of references in the essay with early reign of Henri III. Villey in his final word insists he is not moved from his view that no particular tyrant is indicated in the *Contr'un*.
11. Dezeimeris, R., *Sur l'objectif réel du Discours d'Etienne de la Boétie*, *AAB*, 3^e série, lxi (1907), 5-28. Attack on Arm's thesis by pointing out that he is misled by Protestant use of *Contr'un*. Article weak as direct rebuttal of Arm's points but very important in its advancement of new thesis to replace Arm's: i.e., that LaB had in mind an attack against Charles VI of France. Numerous citations from *Contr'un* set against historical records of Charles VI would make out that LaB was reporting what he had read and heard from his own family. Weakness of this thesis: it makes the *Contr'un* an historical essay and denatures its essence, which is outcry against tyranny. For Arm's reply, see No. 15, pp. 166-198.

12. Delaruelle, L., *Compte-rendu de l'objectif réel du discours d'Etienne de la Boétie* (See No. 11), *AM*, xx (1908), 406-408. Refutes Dezeimeris' thesis about identity of tyrant in *Contr'un*. Lists historians whose works might have been consulted by LaB for information on Charles VI and shows they all picture his as a reign of anarchy and not tyranny.
13. Barckhausen, H., *A propos du Contr'un*, *RHB*, II (1909), 77-81. Sharp reproving attack on weaknesses of Arm's thesis. Shows that reference to Ronsard's *Franciade*, publ. 1572, is in future tense in *Contr'un* and stresses with strong evidence that several copies of the essay were passing from hand to hand and that therefore M was not sole possessor of ms. later used by Protestants. Deduces in fact that the ms. was not in LaB's library bequeathed to M and when he finally located a copy, the times were not right for its publication. For Arm's rebuttal, see No. 15, pp. 232-251 or *RHB*, II (May-June, 1909).
14. Armaingaud, A., *Où l'auteur en appelle de la condamnation trop sommaire de M. Barckhausen*, *RHB*, II (May 1909) (available in No. 15, pp. 232-251). Spirited defense of tense "a couru" with reference to time M wrote the verb and published his *Essais*. Cites two contemporary references to *Contr'un* on its influence as a revolutionary document.
15. Armaingaud, A., *Montaigne pamphlétaire; l'énigme du Contr'un*, Paris, Hachette, 1910, pp. 341. Complete presentation of the thesis that M interpolated and pointed up passages in the *Contr'un* and gave it to Protestants for publication after St. Bartholomew. Arm describes (pp. 1-90) how M's "De l'amitié" first aroused his suspicions, points out radicalism in other chapters of the *Essais*, lists allusions by which he identifies the tyrant in *Contr'un* with Henri III. All this is amplification of arguments already stated in *RPP* and *RHL*, Nos. 2, 9, 10. After p. 90, Arm reprints refutations, and various "réponses aux objections" of Bonnefon, Barckhausen, Dezeimeris, Strowski, Villey; adds a new reply (pp. 223-231) to Villey's *Un dernier mot*, *RHL*, April 1909, see No. 10, and a Chapter VI attacking in detail Barrère thesis concerning Machiavelli (No. 18). The *Contr'un* is then reprinted (pp. 287-323) with passages touched up by M in italics (see Ed. II, 21). The book ends with the article by E. Champion, No. 6, and a further supporting letter. Mainly a source book containing practically all Arm has written on subject. (See Conard ed. of M for his latest essay, 1939, No. 25, showing his viewpoint unchanged).

16. Delaruelle, L., *Compte-rendu de Montaigne et la Boétie, article du Dr. Armaingaud dans la Revue Politique et Parlementaire, mars-mai, 1906, AM, xx (1908), 402-406.* Excellent account of Arm's thesis together with refutation based on (a) comparison of stylistic items with the Latin translation of 1574, (b) dates affecting Henri III. A strong article, essential in this dispute.
17. Delaruelle, L., *L'Inspiration antique dans le Discours de la Servitude Volontaire, RHL, LXXII (January 1910), 34-72.* Refutation of Armaingaud, Dezeimeris and Barrère. Insists that LaB is devoted humanist by tracing exhaustively his allusions and ideas to their Greek and Latin sources, citing texts and showing parallels. Attempts to date the composition of the essay and gives explanation of its contemporary elements, Pléiade, Longa, etc. Strong study.
18. Barrère, J., *Etienne de la Boétie contre Nicolas Machiavel, Bordeaux, Mollat, 1908, p. 98. Il Principe* publ. Rome, 1532, five years after author's death. Fourteen years later young Frenchman from Sarlat who reads Italian writes his answer to its cynicism. Barrère contrasts passages and themes and tries to show LaB combating Machiavelli on friendship, the fate of tyrants, morality in politics. Makes most of recurrence (four times) of "maintenir" in *Contr'un*, the term "mantenere" being very common in *Il Principe*. Makes out case that "formulaire" in *Contr'un* is reference to *Il Principe*. Interprets *Contr'un* as "Contr'un seul livre." Evidence that LaB knew Italian is his translation of 400 lines from Ariosto. Other points of contact: "Vénitiens, Hiéron de Syracuse, troupes nationales et troupes mercenaires, peuple d'Israël, le Grand Turc, fêtes au peuple, le manteau de la religion." See Barrère, No. 21, chap. ix.
19. Armaingaud, A., *La Boétie et Machiavel, d'après une publication récente* (see no. 18), *RPhB*, xi (November 1908), 296-307, xii (January 1909), 30-42 (available in No. 15, pp. 252-285). Satirical, almost personal, attack on Barrère's idea. Emphasizes that regicide in *Contr'un* is not an answer to Machiavellism. Ridicules use of "mantenere" as a test of Italian influence upon LaB. Mentions youth of LaB, 16 to 18, making highly improbable Barrère thesis, as LaB's knowledge of Italian would be weak, and French translation of *Le Prince* appeared only in 1553. Article makes Barrère thesis untenable.
20. Barrère, J., *La Boétie et Machiavel—réponse à M. le Dr. Armaingaud, RPhB*, xii (July 1909), 183-188. Insists that his thesis finds no favor because Arm can see only his own theory. Hints also that Arm

does not know *Le Prince*, and confronts him with a bit of plagiarism, reproducing texts.

21. Morize, André, *Problems and Methods of Literary History*, Ginn, Boston, 1922. Chapter VII has a section (pp. 176-189) on the dispute; Statement of Question, Arm Arguments, and Counterattack. This report clarifies the evidence and arranges in clear perspective the contentions on both sides to date of 1922. Excellent résumé of distinctive contributions of Bonnefon and Villey to whom author gives decision in dispute with Arm.
22. Barrère, J., *L'Humanisme et la politique dans le Discours de la Servitude volontaire*, Paris, Champion, 1923, pp. 244. An essential book for setting the *Contr'un* into its background. Analysis of LaB as humanist not only borrowing from classics thoroughly listed, but from near contemporaries, Erasmus, Machiavelli, Castiglione. In latter aspect, he is not a political pamphleteer like Languet and Hotman, whom he influenced, but speaks for all time to all nations. Barrère then restates fully his case of *Contr'un* as inspired by general anti-Machiavellian reaction in France, LaB thus becoming a leader against perfidy and tyranny. Period of composition of *Contr'un* coincides with the probable period of dissemination of *Le Prince* in France. The last chapter, "Contribution politique des humanistes," shows the *Contr'un* as an "Institution du peuple" compared to the numerous "Institution du Prince" following in wake of Machiavelli. [Reviewed by Courteault: *RHB* (1924), 47-48 and by Renaudet: *RHL*, xxxii (No. 2, 1925), 286-288.]
23. Plattard, Jean, *La Renaissance des lettres en France de Louis XII à Henri IV*, Paris, Colin, 1925. Touches indirectly LaB enigma by discussing M's Catholicism (p. 194), not as a complete adherence to all dogma, but as a refusal to examine because outside province of human reason or logical certainty. Such a point of view would hardly permit anti-Catholic action argued by Arm. [Reviewed *RSS*, xiii (1926), 150-152, by L. Delaruelle.]
24. Lablénie, E., *L'Énigme de la Servitude Volontaire*, *RSS*, xvii (1930), 203-227. Excellent résumé and bibliography of dispute. Contrasts *Contr'un* and *Essais*, vocabulary different, classical names used by LaB in French while M prefers originals, finally in style LaB is hortatory, urgent, while M is philosophic, reflective, this last neatly contrasted in passages from *Essais* referring to tyrants. Important study based on close, textual scrutiny, destructive of Arm thesis.
25. Plattard, Jean, *Etat présent des études sur Montaigne*, 36° cahier des Etudes Françaises, Paris, 1935, pp. 14-18. Analysis of dispute con-

- cerning authorship of *Contr'un* with current bibliographical mentions.
26. Armaingaud, A., *Etude sur le Discours de la Servitude volontaire*, in xi of his ed. of M, Paris, Conard, 1939, pp. 84. Final restatement of his contention that M added passages and placed the *Contr'un* in the hands of Protestants after Bartholomew massacre. Elaborated from previous articles by author with added arguments aimed at Bonnefon, especially that M possessed the sole ms. available, that it could not have resulted in its present form from LaB's academic background. Close-knit argument, continuing the impasse. See Editions, II, 2, i.
 27. Aymonier, C., *Quel est l'auteur du Discours sur la servitude volontaire?*, *RHB*, xxxii (October 1939), 145-158. Analyzes what moved M to publish LaB's "reliques," his deep respect for his friend's thought. Quotes last words of LaB as reported in M's letter on LaB's death and shows how justified by them is M's suppression of *Contr'un*. Shows Arm's weak point, that M was altering a work already known and circulated. Study of date of composition from internal evidence, such as reference to Pléiade. Compares style of both men, LaB with "large période," M as "causeur sec et nerveux." Takes passage not selected by Arm as interpolated and shows its resemblance with others attributed to M. Total impression destructive of Arm's thesis.
 28. Salles, A., *Montaigne a-t-il remanié le Contr'un?*, *BAM*, vi (June 1939), 54-56 and vii (October 1939), 96-99. Historical sketch of the mss. of LaB in possession of M; his publication of all except two; the appearance of *Contr'un* under Protestant auspices. Mentions Bonnefon explanation of later revisions by LaB and the likelihood that copies were made of the original ms. at Bordeaux. Part II furnishes an incomplete bibliography of the dispute, lists main points of argument by Arm, expresses doubts, ends with a list of arguments made by Lablénie (see No. 24) and decides "L'énigme du *Contr'un* se résume, en somme, en une simple hypothèse."

VI—SUMMARY

The La Boétie record but for two items would have been like that of the minor Renaissance spirits that decorate his times, Héroët, Scève, Saint-Gelays, or the members of the brilliant Lyons coterie as well as the lesser lights in the Pléiade. These two items are his friendship with Montaigne enshrined in the *Essais* (I, 28), and his yielding as a youth to the impulse to write an essay against dictators. Despite its use by

Protestants as a manifesto of revolt, its evasive handling by Montaigne who ends by withholding it, its reappearance in the Geneva edition of Montaigne, its distribution as an inflammatory document in the French Revolution, its rôle in the restless 1830's when de Tocqueville's report on America stirs up new interest—despite such a curious history the *Contr'un* does not attract serious critical attention till the discovery of the de Mesmes ms. in 1853. From then on till the definitive Bonnefon edition of the *Œuvres* in 1892, La Boétie receives more study, largely because of his relationship with Montaigne and with the purpose of tracing his influence on the author of the *Essais*. Only after the declaration by Armaingaud in 1904, that the *Contr'un* was revised by Montaigne and handed by him to the Protestants for use as propaganda, do the foremost Renaissance scholars intervene, Strowski, Villey, Bonnefon. Section v of this bibliography is arranged chronologically so as to afford a glimpse of the development of this dispute. There are diversionary attacks on the question by Dezeimeris and Barrère, lending other intentions to La Boétie in his creation of the *Contr'un*. In the meantime additional documents have been discovered concerning his family and his background, and most especially the long-missing *Mémoire sur l'édit de 1562*, also suppressed by Montaigne. These discoveries have led scholars to new appraisals of the *Contr'un* and its significance. From 1930 on, opinion is definitely against the Armaingaud thesis, with final testimony by Lablénie, Aymonier, and Salles, based on the probable manuscripts of the *Contr'un* and internal stylistic evidence from both Montaigne and La Boétie. Nevertheless Armaingaud sticks to his point of view and as late as 1939 publishes the *Contr'un* with those parts in italics that he deems interpolated or revised by Montaigne. A number of questions remain as indicated by Plattard in his *Etat présent des études sur Montaigne*, page 18, centered about the relationship between these two illustrious friends. Further investigation in the *Essais* and particularly in the *Journal de voyage* may yield information not yet brought forward. A careful analysis of the *Mémoire sur l'édit de 1562* should throw light on the dispute. The author of this bibliography is at work on a history of the *Contr'un* and will attempt to add his interpretation of the Enigma of La Boétie.

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THE POET ACCORDING TO DIDEROT

"ON Y RECONNAÎT L'HOMME DE GÉNIE, le grand écrivain, et l'homme sensible," says Marmontel, defending Diderot against his critics.¹ Diderot himself adds: "de ces trois qualités, je n'accepte que la dernière: elle me suffit; on peut la posséder et manquer des deux autres, qu'on possède rarement sans elle." Whether or not we think Diderot unduly modest, there is no doubt that he had thought and written a great deal about the three qualities Marmontel ascribes to him. Diderot as a "maître de la sensibilité" has been studied almost to satiety; recently an admirable study of his conception of genius has appeared.² There remains his conception of the *grand écrivain*, or, to use the term he himself often seems to prefer, the *poète*.³ I shall try here to clarify and define that conception, to follow its development through Diderot's work, and to consider the relationship of the poet to the "homme sensible" and to the genius. As always with Diderot, the idea develops gradually, modified by changing values and fresh notions, as complicated and fascinating for him as it becomes for his reader.

One of the passages in which Diderot sets forth his conception of the poet most clearly is in his *Observations* on Saint-Lambert's *Saisons* (1769). After granting that Saint-Lambert is educated, knows his language, thinks, feels, possesses the technique of versification, has a good ear and the gift of harmony, he answers the question, "Que lui manque-t-il donc pour être un poète?" by saying, "Ce qui lui manque? c'est une âme qui se tourmente, un esprit violent, une imagination forte et bouillante, une lyre qui ait plus de cordes; la sienne n'en a pas assez. . . . Oh! qu'un grand poète est un homme rare!" (v, 250). Here Diderot

1. Marmontel's remarks, defending Diderot against the attacks on the *Essai sur les règnes de Claude et de Néron*, were incorporated by Diderot in the second edition of the *Essai* (1782), with further comments of his own. Diderot, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Assézat and Tournoux, Garnier, 1875-77, 20 vols., III, 383. All the references to Diderot's works, except for the letters to Sophie Volland, are to this edition.

2. Herbert Dieckmann, "Diderot's Conception of Genius," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, II (1941), 151-182. I am indebted to this article for many valuable suggestions.

3. The word *poète* is consistently used by Diderot, not only for the writer in verse, but far more frequently for what we should call the "creative writer" in general. It is in this sense that I use the term throughout, unless otherwise indicated. It may be noted that on the whole Diderot tends to use *poète* in this larger sense, while keeping for *poésie* the more limited sense of work written in verse. There are exceptions in both cases, but they are usually obvious from the context. I shall not deal in detail with Diderot's very interesting and often prophetic ideas on poetry in its limited sense. For discussions of these see J.-J. Mayoux, "Diderot and the Technique of Modern Literature," *Modern Language Review*, XXXI (1936), 518-531; Hubert Gillot, *Denis Diderot: l'homme: ses idées philosophiques, esthétiques, littéraires*, Georges Courville, 1937, pp. 191-209; Eric M. Steel, *Diderot's Imagery: A Study of a Literary Personality*, New York, The Corporate Press, 1941, ch. I, "Diderot's Theory of Imagery."

emphasizes the fundamental quality of the poet in his eyes, imagination.⁴ Even in the earlier passages on the poet, in which, as we shall see, enthusiasm plays so large a part, it is still never divorced from imagination (vii, 103; xiv, 323). At this point it is well for us, with more than a century of the idea of the creative imagination behind us, to inquire as closely as possible into Diderot's conception. What is, I believe, his first mention of the imagination occurs in one of his notes to his translation from Shaftesbury, the *Essai sur le mérite et la vertu* (1745):

Qu'entendez-vous donc par un *monstre*? Un être qui ressemble à quelque chose, tel que la sirène, l'hippogriffe, le faune, le sphinx, la chimère et les dragons ailés? Mais n'apercevez-vous pas que ces enfants de l'imagination des peintres et des poètes n'ont rien d'absurde dans leur conformation; que, quoiqu'ils n'existent pas dans la nature, ils n'ont rien de contradictoire aux idées de liaison, d'harmonie, d'ordre et de proportion? (I, 35, n. 2).

Here Diderot seems to be thinking of the imagination in its traditional and somewhat suspect rôle of a creator of fictions and fantasies, but the end of the passage foreshadows the perception of relationships, of harmony, which belongs to a much later conception.

When Diderot first actually defines the imagination, in *De la poésie dramatique* (1758), his definition is the physiological one which he will repeat so often: "L'imagination est la faculté de se rappeler des images" (vii, 333). But imagination is not mere memory. Speaking of the philosopher, Diderot asks:

Quel est le moment où il cesse d'exercer sa mémoire, et où il commence à appliquer son imagination? C'est celui où, de questions en questions, vous le forcez d'imaginer; c'est-à-dire de passer de sons abstraits et généraux à des sons moins abstraits et moins généraux, jusqu'à ce qu'il soit arrivé à quelque représentation sensible, le dernier terme et le repos de sa raison. Alors, que devient-il? Peintre ou poète" (vii, 333).

Imagination is already more than the mere recalling of images; it is the power of creating them, of translating the abstract into concrete terms, and hence an essential quality of the poet.

The same definition is repeated in the *Rêve de D'Alembert* (1769): "L'imagination, c'est la mémoire des formes et des couleurs" (II, 178). But again imagination is more than a direct recall of images by the "instrument sensible." "Son récit exagère, omet des circonstances, défigure le fait ou l'embellit, et les instruments sensibles adjacents conçoivent des impressions qui sont bien celles de l'instrument qui résonne, mais

4. This is, of course, in line with the *Système figuré des connaissances humaines* of the *Encyclopédie*, in which human knowledge is divided: "en *histoire*, qui se rapporte à la *mémoire*; en *philosophie*, qui émane de la *raison*; et en *poésie*, qui nait de l'imagination" (xiii, 145).

non celles de la chose qui s'est passée." Imagination makes a work poetical rather than historical; Bordeu's answer to D'Alembert's question, "Mais comment s'introduit cette poésie ou ce mensonge dans le récit?" is, "Par les idées qui se réveillent les unes les autres, et elles se réveillent parce qu'elles ont toujours été liées" (II, 179). This is what we should call the reproductive imagination, closely allied to memory. But Diderot maintains his distinction between memory and imagination in the *Eléments de physiologie* (1774-1780): "La mémoire est des signes, l'imagination des objets" (IX, 346), and again, "Mémoire n'est que des mots presque sans images" (IX, 348).

Diderot never abandons this conception of the imagination, but in some of his later works it is supplemented by a larger conception, that of a selecting, combining power. Although I am making no attempt in general to track down the sources of Diderot's ideas, it seems worth while to suggest the possible part played in the development of this later conception by Voltaire's *Encyclopédie* article on imagination.⁵ Voltaire distinguishes between the passive and the active imagination: "Il y a deux sortes d'imagination, l'une qui consiste à retenir une simple impression des objets; l'autre qui arrange ces images reçues; et les combine en mille manières." Of the latter he says: "L'imagination active est celle qui joint la réflexion, la combinaison à la mémoire; elle rapproche plusieurs objets distans, elle sépare ceux qui se mêlent, les compose et les change; elle semble créer quand elle ne fait qu'arranger, car il n'est pas donné à l'homme de se faire des idées, il ne peut que les modifier."

In the *Salon de 1767* Diderot develops a very similar conception: "L'imagination ne crée rien, elle imite, elle compose, combine, exagère, agrandit, rapetisse. Elle s'occupe sans cesse de ressemblances." And he immediately affirms, "l'imagination [est] la qualité dominante du poète" (XI, 131). Whatever Diderot's debt to Voltaire may be in this matter, this conception is one that he will not abandon. In the *Eléments de physiologie*, after the earlier definition already quoted, he turns back to the question:

J'ai une autre idée de l'imagination, c'est la faculté de se peindre les objets absents comme s'ils étaient présents.

C'est la faculté d'emprunter des objets sensibles des images qui servent de comparaison.

C'est la faculté d'attacher à un mot abstrait un corps (IX, 364).

5. The request for this article came to Voltaire from D'Alembert in a letter of December 13, 1756: "Nous vous demandons l'article IMAGINATION." The article did not appear until 1765, but it was undoubtedly in Diderot's hands earlier. At all events it is interesting to note that Diderot's first attribution of a combining power to the imagination follows so closely, in the *Salon de 1767*.

The imagination is no longer merely an act of remembering; the perception of analogies, of relationships, enters in. Diderot continues: "L'homme à imagination se promène dans sa tête comme un curieux dans un palais où ses pas sont à chaque instant détournés pour des objets intéressants; il va, il revient, il n'en sort pas. L'imagination est l'image de l'enfance que tout attire sans règle" (ix, 365).⁶

We have in these later writings of Diderot, as in Voltaire, a conception of the imagination as not simply the power to recall images, but a combining power, discovering analogies and resemblances. It is not yet the mysterious, all-embracing power that it will become in the nineteenth century; the imagination which is for Coleridge "the true inward creatrix,"⁷ which for Poe is "supreme among the mental faculties" and "brings [the] soul often to a glimpse of things supernal and eternal,"⁸ and which for Baudelaire "crée un monde nouveau . . . renferme l'intelligence de tous les moyens et le désir de les acquérir."⁹ For Diderot the imagination is a more intelligible, a more clear-cut faculty, which functions within the limits of the world we know, and does not venture into the world, so alien to Diderot, of things supernal and eternal. It is for him the first of the poet's qualities, but it has not yet gathered all the others unto itself and assumed the sceptre of the "reine des facultés." Yet Diderot took an immense stride towards this conception when he

6. There is an interesting parallel between the last sentence and Baudelaire's comparison of childhood and genius: "L'enfant voit tout en nouveauté; il est toujours ivre. . . . Le génie n'est que l'enfance retrouvée à volonté" (*Œuvres*, éd. de la Pléiade, 2 vols., 1931-1932, II, 331). More than one passage of the *Eléments de Physiologie*, which was not published until after Baudelaire's death, seems to anticipate him. Compare for example:

Je suis porté à croire que tout ce que nous avons vu, connu, aperçu, entendu; jusqu'aux arbres d'une longue forêt, que dis-je? jusqu'à la disposition des branches, à la forme des feuilles et à la variété des couleurs, des verts et des lumières; jusqu'à l'aspect des grains de sable du rivage de la mer, aux inégalités de la surface des flots soit agités par un souffle léger, soit écumeux et soulevés par les vents de la tempête; jusqu'à la multitude des voix humaines, des cris animaux et des bruits physiques, à la mélodie et à l'harmonie de tous les airs, de toutes les pièces de musique, de tous les concerts que nous avons entendus, tout cela existe en nous à notre insu (ix, 366-367).

with Baudelaire's famous palimpsest passage:

L'oubli n'est donc que momentané; et dans telles circonstances solennelles, dans la mort peut-être, et généralement dans les excitations intenses créées par l'opium, tout l'immense et compliqué palimpseste de la mémoire se déroule d'un seul coup, avec toutes ses couches superposées de sentiments défunts, mystérieusement embaumés dans ce que nous appelons l'oubli (*Œuvres*, I, 389-390).

The pre-Proustian quality of both passages is obvious; perhaps even more marked in a passage of Diderot's which comes shortly after the one I have just quoted: "Un son de voix, la présence d'un objet, un certain lieu . . . et voilà un objet, que dis-je? un long intervalle de ma vie rappelé. . . . Me voilà plongé dans le plaisir, le regret, ou l'affliction" (ix, 369-370).

7. S. T. Coleridge, *Anima Poetae*, Houghton Mifflin, 1895, p. 206.

8. E. A. Poe, *Complete Works*, Virginia ed., 16 vols., 1902, xiv, 187.

9. Baudelaire, *Œuvres*, II, 226, 233.

attributed to the imagination not only a reproducing, but a relating and combining power, and saw in it "la qualité dominante du poète."

Second only to imagination as a qualification for the poet is enthusiasm. For Voltaire enthusiasm had been rather a function of the imagination: "L'*imagination active* qui fait les poètes leur donne l'enthousiasme, c'est-à-dire, selon le mot grec, cette émotion interne qui agite en effet l'esprit, et qui transforme l'auteur dans le personnage qu'il fait parler; car c'est là l'enthousiasme, il consiste dans l'émotion et dans les images."¹⁰ But for Diderot enthusiasm is an autonomous quality. In one of his earliest discussions of poetry, in the *Lettre sur les sourds et muets* (1751), he broaches the question:

Il passe alors dans le discours du poète un esprit qui en meut et vivifie toutes les syllabes. Qu'est-ce que cet esprit? j'en ai quelquefois senti la présence; mais tout ce que j'en sais, c'est que c'est lui qui fait que les choses sont dites et représentées tout à la fois; que dans le même temps que l'entendement les saisit, l'âme en est émue, l'imagination les voit et l'oreille les entend, et que le discours n'est plus seulement un enchaînement de termes énergiques qui exposent la pensée avec force et noblesse, mais que c'est encore un tissu d'hiéroglyphes entassés les uns sur les autres qui la peignent. Je pourrais dire, en ce sens, que toute poésie est emblématique (I, 374).

This passage, besides forecasting, as has often been noted, much of the theory and practice of modern poetry, also touches on the major elements of the poetic make-up, to which Diderot will return again and again; not only the moving spirit of enthusiasm, but also imagination, understanding, feeling.

Enthusiasm is a state which, as Diderot says, he had himself experienced. More than one passage from his correspondence brings the same testimony: "Je leur semblois extraordinaire, inspiré, divin. . . . Nous avons passé une soirée d'enthousiasme dont j'étois le foyer."¹¹ In his *Encyclopédie* article on *Eclectisme* (1755) he again insists on the necessity of enthusiasm for the poet, and defines it:

J'observerai ici en passant qu'il est impossible en poésie, en peinture, en éloquence, en musique, de rien produire de sublime sans enthousiasme. L'enthousiasme est un mouvement violent de l'âme, par lequel nous sommes transportés au milieu des objets que nous avons à représenter; alors nous voyons une scène entière se passer dans notre imagination, comme si elle était hors de nous; elle y est en effet car tant que dure cette illusion, tous les êtres présents

10. *Encyclopédie*, art. *Imagination*. In Marmontel's article, which follows Voltaire's, imagination and enthusiasm are identified: "Ce sentiment, dans son plus haut degré de chaleur, n'est autre chose que l'enthousiasme."

11. *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, ed. André Babelon, Gallimard, 1930, 3 vols., I, 98-99. October 10, 1759.

sont anéantis, et nos idées sont réalisées à leur place; ce ne sont que nos idées que nous apercevons; cependant nos mains touchent des corps, nos yeux voient des êtres animés, nos oreilles entendent des voix (xiv, 322-323).¹²

Here the function of enthusiasm seems above all to be to give full play to the powers of the imagination, releasing it from all constraint.

At the beginning of the *Second Entretien sur le Fils naturel* (1757), we have the famous picture of the poet finding his inspiration in nature, the "séjour sacré de l'enthousiasme." "Sans l'enthousiasme, ou l'idée véritable ne se présente point, ou si, par hasard, on la rencontre, on ne peut la poursuivre" (vii, 103). And Diderot's great criticism of Saint-Lambert's *Saisons* is that the poet has prophesied without awaiting the descent of the Spirit (v, 246). In the *Paradoxe sur le comédien*, where the rôle of feeling is so greatly diminished, enthusiasm is still essential for the poet and his ilk:

Et pourquoi l'acteur différerait-il du poète, du peintre, de l'orateur, du musicien? Ce n'est pas dans la fureur du premier jet que les traits caractéristiques se présentent, c'est dans des moments tranquilles et froids, dans des moments tout à fait inattendus. On ne sait d'où ces traits viennent; ils tiennent de l'inspiration. C'est lorsque, suspendus entre la nature et leur ébauche, ces génies portent alternativement un œil attentif sur l'une et l'autre; les beautés d'inspiration, les traits fortuits qu'ils répandent dans leurs ouvrages, et dont l'apparition subite les étonne eux-mêmes, sont d'un effet et d'un succès bien autrement assurés que ce qu'ils y ont jeté de boutade. C'est au sang-froid à tempérer le délire de l'enthousiasme (viii, 367).

This is indeed a refined and tempered enthusiasm, not the "fureur du premier jet," which Diderot's own enthusiasm sometimes seems,¹³ but essential for the poet at the creative moment.

In general enthusiasm seems to have for Diderot an intensifying, stimulating function. Not only is the poet moved, stirred, elated, but he has a new vision, he is transported from the world around him to a world of his own imagining. It is when Diderot sees enthusiasm firing the imagination, driving it to the heights of its combining, fusing power, that he comes closest to the idea of the creative imagination.

Another question that must be considered is the rôle of feeling for the poet, which comes to a head in the *Paradoxe sur le comédien* (1773-1778), where Diderot, after refusing all *sensibilité* to the actor, goes on to re-

12. Cf. the article *Fureur* (1757), also by Diderot: "Il y a une *fureur* particulière qu'on appelle *fureur poétique*; c'est l'enthousiasme" (xv, 31). It is curious to compare these two articles of Diderot with the actual *Enthousiasme* article, by Cahuzac, in which *enthousiasme* is not a *fureur*, but "le chef-d'œuvre de la raison . . . une émotion vive de l'âme à l'aspect d'un tableau NEUF et bien ordonné qui la frappe, et que la raison lui présente."

13. *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, I, 242-243, October 18, 1760.

fuse it likewise to the poet and other artists. Many critics, mindful of Diderot's earlier insistence on feeling as an attribute of the artist, have seen in the *Paradoxe* a contradiction difficult to explain, an exceptional moment in Diderot's thought. This contradiction is seen at its height in the comparison of two passages. The first is found in the *Second Entretien*: "Les poètes, les acteurs, les musiciens, les peintres, les chanteurs de premier ordre, les grands danseurs, les amants tendres, les vrais dévots, toute cette troupe enthousiaste et passionnée sent vivement et refléchit peu" (vii, 108). But in the *Paradoxe* Diderot asserts categorically:

Les grands poètes, les grands acteurs, et peut-être en général tous les grands imitateurs de la nature, quels qu'ils soient, doués d'une belle imagination, d'un grand jugement, d'un tact fin, d'un goût très-sûr, sont les êtres les moins sensibles. . . . Nous sentons, nous; eux, ils observent, étudient et peignent. Le dirai-je? . . . La sensibilité n'est guère la qualité d'un grand génie (viii, 368).

The contradiction here is apparent enough. I believe, however, that the *Paradoxe* represents the culmination of various trends in Diderot's thought, rather than an isolated and contradictory moment. As far as he himself is concerned, he never fails to admit that he is above all the "homme sensible." "Au reste, lorsque j'ai prononcé que la sensibilité était la caractéristique de la bonté de l'âme et de la médiocrité du génie, j'ai fait un aveu qui n'est pas trop ordinaire, car si Nature a pétri une âme sensible, c'est la mienne" (viii, 408).¹⁴ He has just defined the quality:

La sensibilité, selon la seule acception qu'on ait donné jusqu'à présent à ce terme, est, ce me semble, cette disposition compagne de la faiblesse des organes, suite de la mobilité du diaphragme, de la vivacité de l'imagination, de la délicatesse des nerfs, qui incline à compatir, à frissonner, à admirer, à craindre, à se troubler, à pleurer, à s'évanouir, à secourir, à fuir, à crier, à perdre la raison, à exagérer, à mépriser, à dédaigner, à n'avoir aucune idée précise du vrai, du bon et du beau, à être injuste, à être fou (viii, 393).

The definition comes at the moment when Diderot is most vigorously denying feeling to the actor, and seeing it in its least favorable light.

14. See also Diderot's famous anecdote of himself and Sedaine, "l'homme sensible et médiocre" opposed to "l'observateur et l'homme de génie" (viii, 383).

A later self-avowed *âme sensible*, Stendhal, after reading the *Observations sur Garrick* which were a first draft of the *Paradoxe*, wrote: "Je trouve froid ce que j'ai écrit dans l'enthousiasme. Je pense bien que la dissertation de Diderot (dans Grimm) sur les acteurs pourrait bien être vraie" (*Journal*, ed. H. Debraye and L. Royer, Champion, 1923-34, 5 vols., v, 254). The passage, undated, but probably written about 1814 (it is among the notes for the *Histoire de la Peinture en Italie*) gives an interesting indication of the changed meaning of *enthousiasme*. By Stendhal's time it is taking on its modern meaning, and he uses it where Diderot would have used *sensibilité*.

But from the *Second Entretien* on he had begun to show himself wary of unrestrained feeling. He says in the *Essai sur la peinture* (1765): "De l'expérience et de l'étude; voilà les préliminaires, et de celui qui fait, et de celui qui juge. J'exige ensuite de la sensibilité. . . . La sensibilité, quand elle est extrême, ne discerne plus; tout l'émeut indistinctement" (x, 519-520). It is above all for a particular part of the poet's art, rhythm, that Diderot maintains the importance of feeling: "Cet art-là n'est pas plus de convention que les effets de l'arc-en-ciel; il ne se prend point; il ne se communique point; il peut seulement se perfectionner. Il est inspiré par un goût naturel, par la mobilité de l'âme, par la sensibilité" (*Salon de 1767*, xi, 268).

It is in the *Rêve de D'Alembert* that Diderot's distrust of feeling really develops, in close connection with his central ideas on sensation and the nervous system: "On est ferme, si, d'habitude ou d'organisation, l'origine du faisceau domine les filets; faible, au contraire, si elle en est dominée" (ii, 165). He goes on to a more specific classification:

Le principe ou le tronc est-il trop vigoureux relativement aux branches? De là les poètes, les artistes, les gens à imagination, les hommes pusillanimes, les enthousiastes, les fous. Trop faible? De là ce que nous appelons les brutes, les bêtes féroces. Le système entier lâche, mou, sans énergie? De là, les imbéciles. Le système entier énergique, bien d'accord, bien ordonné? De là, les bons penseurs, les philosophes, les sages (ii, 169-170).

Here the poet and the artist are among those in whom the "centre commun," the "registre des sensations," the seat of memory and imagination dominates. Diderot goes on to the question of feeling:

La sensibilité . . . ou l'extrême mobilité de certains filets du réseau est la qualité dominante des êtres médiocres. . . . Un être abandonné à la discrétion du diaphragme. Un mot touchant a-t-il frappé l'oreille, un phénomène singulier a-t-il frappé l'œil, et voilà tout à coup le tumulte intérieur qui s'élève, tous les brins du faisceau qui s'agitent, le frisson qui se répand, l'horreur qui saisit, les larmes qui coulent, les soupirs qui suffoquent, la voix qui s'interrompt, l'origine du faisceau qui ne sait ce qu'il devient; plus de sang-froid, plus de raison, plus de jugement, plus d'instinct, plus de ressource. . . . Le grand homme, s'il a malheureusement reçu cette disposition naturelle, s'occupera sans relâche à l'affaiblir, à la dominer, à se rendre maître de ses mouvements et à conserver à l'origine du faisceau tout son empire. Alors il se possédera au milieu des plus grands dangers, il jugera froidement, mais sainement. Rien de ce qui peut servir à ses vues, concourir à son but, ne lui échappera; on l'étonnera difficilement; il aura quarante-cinq ans; il sera grand roi, grand ministre, grand politique, grand artiste, surtout grand comédien, grand philosophe, grand poète, grand musicien, grand médecin; il régnera sur lui-même et sur

tout ce qui l'environne. . . . Les êtres sensibles ou les fous sont en scène, il est au parterre; c'est lui qui est le sage (II, 170-171).

I have quoted this passage at length because it shows so clearly the physiological background of Diderot's attitude towards feeling in the *Paradoxe*. I should like to emphasize too the last part, which indicates the possibility of mastering and subordinating feeling, the achievement of greatness by a victory over one's native *sensibilité*. What Diderot says applies to greatness, to genius, in general, rather than to any particular category, but it is essential to the development of the more specific ideas of the *Paradoxe*.

This brings us to the extreme position taken by Diderot in the *Paradoxe*, where he maintains that "c'est le manque absolu de sensibilité qui prépare les acteurs sublimes" (VIII, 370). As we are dealing primarily with Diderot's extension of the paradox to the poet, I should like to point out first of all that he applies it strictly only to the actor, and that when he extends it to the poet, the painter, and so on, he tends to make the reservation already suggested in the *Rêve de D'Alembert*. How conscious this is, I cannot say; I do not think that Diderot anywhere suggests a possible justification of carrying the paradox to its furthest limits only in the case of the actor by the fact that the actor, more than any other artist, is bound by times and seasons, that he has his exits and his entrances, and cannot wait on feeling or inspiration.¹⁵ At all events the rigor of the paradox is constantly mitigated when it is applied to the poet. For example in a passage to which I shall have occasion to return later on (VIII, 386), Diderot expressly considers the case of the poet wishing to express a deep-felt emotion, and asks of him not lack of feeling, but the postponement of expression until the emotion is past, to be recalled and revived later by memory and imagination. Again, towards the end of the *Paradoxe*, there is a close parallel to the passage I have quoted from the *Rêve de D'Alembert*:

L'homme sensible est trop abandonné à la merci de son diaphragme pour être un grand roi, un grand politique, un grand magistrat, un homme juste, un profond observateur, et conséquemment un sublime imitateur de la nature, à moins qu'il ne puisse s'oublier et se distraire de lui-même, et qu'à l'aide d'une imagination forte il ne sache se créer, et d'une mémoire tenace tenir son attention fixée sur des fantômes qui lui servent de modèles; mais alors ce n'est plus lui qui agit, c'est l'esprit d'un autre qui le domine (VIII, 408).

15. Cf. what Delacroix, one of Diderot's great admirers, says, along somewhat the same lines, about the difference between the actor and the painter, in his long discussion of the *Paradoxe* (*Journal*, ed. André Joubin, Paris, Plon, 1932, 3 vols., I, 170-174. January 27, 1847).

Here the *à moins que* clause lessens the force of the paradox, leaving the way open for a controlled *sensibilité*.

It seems to me that Diderot's position is less episodic than has often been assumed, and also that in the *Paradoxe* itself its rigor is attenuated outside the special case of the actor, and particularly so for the poet. But it cannot be denied that Diderot's position swings from one extreme point in the *Second Entretien* to the other in the *Paradoxe*, to swing back later to what appears to be his final thought on the matter, in the *Essai sur les règnes de Claude et de Néron*, where, speaking of "l'homme de génie, le grand écrivain, et l'homme sensible," he says of *sensibilité*: "On peut la posséder et manquer des deux autres, qu'on possède rarement sans elle" (III, 383). The variation is marked enough so that, unless one is satisfied with seeing in it merely an example of Diderot's own phrase, "la tête d'un Langrois est sur ses épaules comme un coq d'église en haut d'un clocher,"¹⁶ one feels the urge to look more deeply into the reasons for the change. First, however, I should like to discuss a closely allied question, that of the rôle of the judgment, which seems to present the same sort of contradiction, in reverse, its importance increasing as that of feeling decreases. Diderot had seen the need for it as early as the *Eclectisme* article, where after describing enthusiasm and concluding "si cet état n'est pas de la folie, il en est bien voisin," he immediately goes on, "voilà la raison pour laquelle il faut un très-grand sens pour balancer l'enthousiasme" (xiv, 323).

It is in the *Réfutation de l'ouvrage d'Helvétius intitulé l'Homme* (1773-1774) that Diderot sets down his idea of the particular function of the judgment and its relation to the senses: "Voilà les cinq témoins; mais le juge ou le rapporteur? Il y a un organe particulier, le cerveau, auquel les cinq témoins font leur rapport." This establishes the relationship *juge-jugement* to which Diderot will often return. He then goes on: "Il faut sentir pour être orateur, érudit, poète, philosophe, mais on n'est pas philosophe, poète, orateur, érudit, parce qu'on sent" (II, 318). Here is the root of the distinction in the *Paradoxe* which at first sight seems so puzzling: "C'est qu'être sensible est une chose, et sentir est une autre. L'une est une affaire d'âme, l'autre une affaire de jugement" (VIII, 415). *Sensibilité*, a nervous susceptibility, "la mobilité du diaphragme"; *sentir*, the communication of sensation to the central organ, "un correspondant et un juge commun de toutes les sensations . . . un organe commémoratif de tout ce qui nous arrive" (II, 337). Diderot develops this further in the *Réfutation*, where he says of man as contrasted with the animal:

16. *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, I, 67. August 10, 1759.

Il est entre ses sens une telle harmonie qu'aucun ne prédomine assez sur les autres pour donner la loi à son entendement; c'est son entendement au contraire, ou l'organe de sa raison qui est le plus fort. C'est un juge qui n'est ni corrompu ni subjugué par aucun des témoins; il conserve toute son autorité, et il en use pour se perfectionner: il combine toutes sortes d'idées et de sensations, parcequ'il ne sent rien fortement (II, 323).

The judgment is not only a central receiving depot, as it were, but a coordinator and a moderator. Again an increasing precision in Diderot's definitions explains certain apparent contradictions, particularly in the relation of the judgment to the imagination, which is further complicated by the two conceptions of imagination we have noted. It would seem that for Diderot imagination is sometimes a requisite for the "homme raisonnable," the philosopher, sometimes the antithesis of judgment, the great quality of the philosopher. In *De la poésie dramatique* imagination is "la qualité sans laquelle on n'est ni un poète, ni un philosophe, ni un homme d'esprit, ni un être raisonnable, ni un homme" (VII, 333). But later imagination is sharply opposed to judgment; in the *Salon de 1767*, immediately after the definition of imagination as the perception of analogies, comes: "Le jugement observe, compare, et ne cherche que des différences. Le jugement est la qualité dominante du philosophe; l'imagination, la qualité dominante du poète" (XI, 131). The same antithesis recurs in the *Eléments de Physiologie*: "Si l'on voit la chose comme elle est en nature, on est philosophe. Si l'on forme l'objet d'un choix de parties éparses qui en rendent la sensation plus forte dans l'imitation qu'elle ne l'eût été dans la nature, on est poète" (IX, 374). I believe that in the first case Diderot is thinking of his basic conceptions of both imagination and judgment; imagination, the power of recalling images, is an essential purveyor to the central organ of judgment. But in the two later passages the selecting, combining imagination is opposed to the accurate, moderating judgment. As far as the poet is concerned, the rôle of the judgment is a secondary one. "C'est au sang-froid à tempérer le délire de l'enthousiasme," but if judgment becomes supreme we have the philosopher, not the poet. It is however obvious that as Diderot's distrust of feeling increases, the rôle of judgment becomes more important. As I said earlier, I believe the reasons for this changing emphasis are to be found in large measure in the general development of Diderot's thought, and I shall try to indicate them briefly.

One of the more obvious explanations is to be found in Diderot's interest in physiological problems and the increasing precision of his definitions of certain faculties and their relation to each other. I have already

noted how the purely physiological conception of the imagination (at which Diderot arrives very early) is maintained beside the more esthetic and poetic one which appears later. With *sensibilité* the movement is rather the reverse; the faculty is reduced from an "émotion de l'âme" to a "mobilité du diaphragme" which may be a hindrance rather than a help to creative activity, and which therefore needs to be controlled by the "origine du faisceau," the judgment.

But the change in Diderot's attitude towards feeling is related even more closely, I think, to the development of his esthetic ideas, and particularly to his conception of imitation and the "modèle intérieur."¹⁷ In the *Second Entretien* he answers the question "Qu'est-ce que la beauté d'imitation?" by saying simply, "La conformité de l'image avec la chose" (VII, 156). But the distinction between the "imitation rigoureuse" of the historian and the "imitation libre" of the poet is soon established,¹⁸ and in the *Salon de 1767* the idea of the "modèle intérieur" is fully developed: "Il y a donc une chose qui n'est pas celle que vous avez peinte, et une chose que vous avez peinte qui est entre le modèle premier et votre copie. . . . Convenez donc que ce modèle est purement idéal, et qu'il n'est emprunté directement d'aucune image individuelle de la nature" (XI, 10-11). This leads Diderot to his advice to the painter in the *Pensées détachées sur la peinture* (1775-1776):¹⁹ "Eclaircissez vos objets selon votre soleil, qui n'est pas celui de la nature; soyez le disciple de l'arc-en-ciel, mais n'en soyez pas l'esclave" (XII, 87), and to a reiteration of the idea of the "modèle intérieur": "Cette imitation, où en est le modèle? dans l'âme, dans l'esprit, dans l'imagination plus ou moins vive, dans le cœur plus ou moins chaud de l'auteur. Il ne faut donc pas confondre un modèle intérieur avec un modèle extérieur" (XII, 128-129).

This idea is developed primarily in the *Salons* and the *Pensées détachées*, but Diderot proceeded to apply it to the poet and to the actor. The latter, instead of collaborating, as it were, with the poet in the imitation of nature, as Diderot suggests in the *Second Entretien* when he says "il y a des endroits qu'il faudrait presque abandonner à l'acteur" (VII, 105), must now follow the "modèle intérieur" of the poet: "Celui qui

17. This question has been discussed so often that I shall not treat it in detail here. See especially Jean Thomas, *L'Humanisme de Diderot*, 2e éd. revue et augmentée, "Les Belles-Lettres," 1938, ch. iv, "L'Humanisme et l'art," and an excellent recent treatment, Eleanor M. Walker, "Towards an Understanding of Diderot's Esthetic Theory," *RR*, xxxv (1944), 277-287.

18. See the *Encyclopédie* article on *Imitation* (xv, 168).

19. For the date and sources of the *Pensées détachées* see J. Kosciuszko, "Diderot et Hagedorn," *RLC*, xvi (1936), 635-669.

laisse le moins à imaginer au grand comédien est le plus grand des poètes" (VIII, 405). All through the *Paradoxe* this connection is emphasized: "Et comment la nature sans l'art formerait-elle un grand comédien, puisque rien ne se passe exactement sur la scène comme en nature, et que les poèmes dramatiques sont tous composés d'après un certain système de principes?" (VIII, 363). After discussing "l'inégalité des acteurs qui jouent d'âme," Diderot goes on: "Au lieu que le comédien qui jouera de réflexion, d'étude de la nature humaine, d'imitation constante d'après quelque modèle idéal, d'imagination, de mémoire, sera un, le même à toutes les représentations, toujours également parfait." The parallel with the poet follows immediately: "Ainsi que le poète, il va sans cesse puiser dans le fond inépuisable de la nature, au lieu qu'il aurait bientôt vu le terme de sa propre richesse" (VIII, 365-366). The idea recurs constantly (VIII, 373, 375), and is summed up in the final pages of the *Paradoxe*:

Mon ami, il y a trois modèles, l'homme de la nature, l'homme du poète, l'homme de l'acteur. Celui de la nature est moins grand que celui du poète, et celui-ci moins grand encore que celui du grand comédien, le plus exagéré de tous. . . . Vous voyez qu'il n'est pas même permis d'imiter la nature, même la belle nature, la vérité de trop près, et qu'il est des limites dans lesquelles il faut se renfermer (VIII, 419-420).

This very close relationship between Diderot's conceptions of the "modèle intérieur," and of both the actor and the poet, has not always been sufficiently emphasized. To my mind, it explains, even more than do the physiological ideas, the changing ratio of feeling and judgment, the need for rising above feeling to an imitation which is the result of the collaboration of all the great human faculties.

It seems then that for Diderot the special faculties of the poet are imagination and enthusiasm. Imagination in particular is his distinguishing mark; the imagination that is both the power of recalling images and the higher relating, combining faculty. As I have said, Diderot's conception foreshadows the later idea of the creative imagination, approaching it most nearly when he sees the imagination stimulated and fired by enthusiasm. We have seen too how the rôle of feeling is first a major one, then reduced, subjugated to the control of the judgment. But the latter, too, plays a minor part for the poet, serving rather as a brake on emotion than as a guide.

One must, I think, recalling the three categories which were our starting-point, ask what the distinction was for Diderot between the poet and the genius. At times he seems to use the words almost inter-

changeably,²⁰ and particularly when he says not merely "le poète," but "le grand poète," which often seems to imply the poet who is a genius. But on the whole certain clear-cut differences emerge. I have already referred to Dieckmann's excellent study of Diderot's conception of genius, and I shall do little more here than compare his conclusions on the genius with my own on the poet. The first and most obvious distinction is that genius is plainly a more all-embracing term. The poet may be a genius, but so may the painter, the orator, the actor, the philosopher and the scientist.

For Diderot genius, as he so passionately maintained against Helvétius, cannot be the result of education or circumstance: "Envoyez-moi en exil, ou enfermez-moi dix ans à la Bastille, et je n'en sortirai pas *le Paradis perdu* à la main" (II, 283). He insists: "C'est qu'il est dans l'ordre éternel, que le monstre appelé homme de génie soit toujours infiniment rare" (II, 290). Diderot's difficulty in defining genius is clearly shown in the undated fragment *Sur le génie*: "Il y a dans les hommes de génie, poètes, philosophes, peintres, orateurs, musiciens, je ne sais quelle qualité d'âme particulière, secrète, indéfinissable, sans laquelle on n'exécute rien de très-grand et de beau." This quality, he says, is neither *imagination*, *jugement*, *esprit*, *chaleur*, *sensibilité*, nor *goût*.

Est-ce une certaine conformation de la tête et des viscères, une certaine constitution des humeurs? J'y consens, mais à la condition qu'on avouera que ni moi, ni personne n'en a de notion précise, et qu'on y joindra l'esprit observateur . . . L'esprit observateur dont je parle s'exerce sans effort, sans contention; il ne regarde point, il voit; il s'instruit, il s'étend sans étudier; il n'a aucun phénomène présent, mais ils l'ont tous affecté, et ce qui lui en reste c'est une espèce de sens que les autres n'ont pas (IV, 26-27).

Genius is thus for Diderot a mysterious quality, extraordinary alike in its breadth and its depth, containing the "esprit observateur" which, as he says in the same fragment, is also an "esprit prophétique." The genius leaves ordinary mortals far behind: "Si l'on est quelquefois arrêté dans un ouvrage, l'obscurité naît de la profondeur des idées et de la distance des rapports. Le génie porte rapidement son flambeau, et l'esprit qui ne suit pas avec la même vitesse reste en arrière et tâtonne dans les ténèbres" (*Essai sur Claude et Néron*, III, 391).

I have, I think, said enough of Diderot's conception of genius to show how it is distinguished from all other categories and transcends them,

20. Here, however, the distinction which Dieckmann has so well emphasized between *avoir du génie* and *être un génie* should be recalled, for several of the passages in which the word *génie* is used in connection with the poet suggest the former; for example, in the passage on enthusiasm in the *Second Entretien*: "Un homme a-t-il reçu du génie?" (VII, 102).

with its mysterious power welling up from hidden depths. The poet is but one of the various categories in which genius may manifest itself. The greatest poets are also geniuses, but without genius one may still have the qualities of a poet.

Up to this point I have considered Diderot's conception of the nature of the poetic character, and the qualities which are essential to it. There remains the question of his idea of the actual creative process, the way in which the poet works. Much of this is implicit in what I have already said, and needs only to be looked at in a slightly different light.

Diderot has often been considered a precursor of the pure romantic idea of poetic composition, the poet seized by inspiration and pouring forth his immortal works in a fine frenzy. There is no doubt that the moment of creative enthusiasm is capital for Diderot, but a study of the very passages in which he is most insistent on it shows that for him it is a stage, a very important one, to be sure, in a process, and not sufficient unto itself. It is not at the moment when the poet's feelings are most deeply stirred that he transforms them into poetry. I have already mentioned the passage in the *Paradoxe* in which Diderot deals with precisely this point, and I should like to quote it in full here:

Est-ce au moment où vous venez de perdre votre ami ou votre maîtresse que vous composerez un poëme sur sa mort? Non. Malheur à celui qui jouit alors de son talent! C'est lorsque la grande douleur est passée, quand l'extrême sensibilité est amortie, lorsqu'on est loin de la catastrophe, que l'âme est calme, qu'on se rappelle son bonheur éclipsé, qu'on est capable d'apprécier la perte qu'on a faite, que la mémoire se réunit à l'imagination, l'une pour retracer, l'autre pour exagérer la douceur d'un temps passé; qu'on se possède et qu'on parle bien. On dit qu'on pleure, mais on ne pleure pas lorsqu'on poursuit une épithète énergique qui se refuse; on dit qu'on pleure, mais on ne pleure pas lorsqu'on s'occupe à rendre son vers harmonieux: ou si les larmes coulent, la plume tombe des mains, on se livre à son sentiment et l'on cesse de composer (viii, 386).

The passage seems to me a most important and significant one, recalling, as it can hardly fail to do, Wordsworth's famous pronouncement on emotion recollected in tranquillity. The poet must write, not without feeling and emotion, but after the tyranny of emotion is overpast, to be recalled and quickened by memory and imagination in its active rôle.

Furthermore, Diderot recognizes the place in this preparatory process not only of the storing away of the emotion in the "deep well of unconscious cerebration," where memory and imagination do their hidden work, but also of a more conscious preparation for the moment of creative enthusiasm. The *Eclectisme* article is categorical on this point:

"L'enthousiasme n'entraîne que quand les esprits ont été préparés et soumis par la force de la raison; c'est un principe que les poètes ne doivent jamais perdre de vue dans leurs fictions" (xiv, 323). In the *Second Entretien* Diderot says expressly that enthusiasm must be preceded by reflexion: "Le poète sent le moment de l'enthousiasme; c'est après qu'il a médité." Only after meditation does enthusiasm develop to the point where the poet "ne connaîtrait de soulagement qu'à verser au dehors un torrent d'idées qui se pressent, se heurtent et se chassent" (vii, 103). The same process is outlined in the article on Watelet's *Sur l'art de peindre* (1760): "Une invocation est toujours un morceau d'enthousiasme. Le poète a médité. Son esprit fécondé veut produire. Ses pensées en tumulte . . . font effort pour sortir. Il voit l'étendue de son sujet. Il appelle à son secours quelque divinité qui le soutienne. Il voit cette divinité. Elle lui tend la main. Il marche" (xiii, 17).

So the first step in the poetic process is a period of preparation, conscious and unconscious, during which material is gathered in and stored away, to take form and shape at the moment of creative inspiration. "Qu'est-ce donc que l'inspiration?" Diderot asks in the *Salon de 1767*, and answers:

L'art de lever un pan du voile et de montrer aux hommes un coin ignoré, ou plutôt oublié du monde qu'ils habitent. L'inspiré est lui-même incertain quelquefois si la chose qu'il annonce est une réalité ou une chimère, si elle exista jamais hors de lui. Il est alors sur la dernière limite de l'énergie de la nature de l'homme, et à l'extrémité des ressources de l'art (xi, 208).

The passage from the *Paradoxe* likewise brings up the question of the conscious work that follows the period of preparation and the moment of enthusiasm. Diderot sometimes tends to put technique in a minor position: "Le technique s'acquiert à la longue; la verve, l'idéal ne viennent point; il faut les apporter en naissant" (*Salon de 1765*, x, 374). Still these greater gifts in no way dispense the poet from the painstaking pursuit of the "mot juste." In 1766 Diderot writes to Falconet, "Ce n'est pas au courant de la plume qu'on fait une belle page" (xviii, 171), and in his *Salon* of the following year: "Quand on a de la verve, des concepts rares, une manière d'apercevoir et de sentir originale et forte, le grand tourment est de trouver l'expression singulière, individuelle, unique, qui caractérise, qui distingue, qui attache et qui frappe" (xi, 187). Flaubert could hardly say more.

Diderot himself seems one of the most spontaneous of writers, and maintained to the last, "je ne compose point, je ne suis point auteur; je lis ou je converse, j'interroge ou je réponds" (iii, 10). However the

section "Sur ma manière de travailler," of the *Conseils et confidences d'un philosophe à une impératrice*,²¹ lets us into his inner sanctum, and reveals the conscious method that underlies the apparent spontaneity. I quote only the most significant paragraphs:

Lorsque j'ai pris mon parti, je pense chez moi le jour, la nuit, en société, dans les rues, à la promenade; ma besogne me poursuit.

J'ai sur mon bureau un grand papier sur lequel je jette un mot de réclame de mes pensées, sans ordre, en tumulte, comme elles viennent.

Lorsque ma tête est épuisée, je me repose; je donne le temps aux idées de repousser; c'est ce que j'ai appelé quelquefois ma *recoupe*, métaphore empruntée d'un des travaux de la campagne.

Cela fait, je reprends ces réclames d'idées tumultueuses et décousues et je les ordonne, quelquefois en les chiffrant.

Quand j'en suis venu là, je dis que mon ouvrage est achevé.

J'écris tout de suite, mon âme s'échauffe de reste en écrivant. . . .

Il s'en manque bien encore que l'ouvrage puisse être publié; il y a le travail de la lime, le plus épineux, le plus difficile, celui qui épuise, fatigue, ennuie et ne finit point, surtout chez une nation où quatre expressions de mauvais goût tuent un très bon ouvrage.

The passage brings out clearly Diderot's own method of work and its relation to the creative process in general. One can find in it a foreshadowing of the great steps in the working of the creative imagination as modern writers have seen them. John Livingston Lowes has studied them in Coleridge: "the long, slow storing of the Well . . . the flash of amazing vision through fortuitous suggestion . . . the exciting task of translating the vision into actuality."²²

Diderot was fully aware of the need of the period of preparation that precedes creation, without which it is in vain for the poet to call upon the Muse. For him the high point of the poetic process is the intense creative enthusiasm which follows. The subsequent period of conscious work is of lesser importance, and more of a drudgery; a duty to an exacting public rather than to the urge of the artistic conscience. This is certainly due in part to his personal distaste for such work, but also, I am convinced, to his deep faith in enthusiasm, his belief that, once the way had been prepared, the work could and would be brought close to a finished state under the goad of enthusiasm. The doctrine of conscious artistry of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, was accompanied by an increasing, sometimes almost complete distrust of inspiration,

21. Maurice Tourneux, *Diderot et Catherine II*, Calmann-Lévy, 1899, pp. 448-452.

22. John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu*, new and enlarged edition, Houghton Mifflin, 1930, p. 433.

which inevitably carried over to the period of conscious labor much for which the poet had previously counted on the Muse. The emphasis on the moment of inspiration and the succeeding conscious labor is the reverse of what it was for Diderot. But the passages I have quoted show the Diderot cannot be classed with those who uphold the doctrine of pure feeling and inspiration in creative writing. We find in him an increasingly penetrating conception of the nature and complexity of the creative process, born both of long reflexion and of his own experience.

So it seems to me that in his conception both of the nature of the poet and of the creative process Diderot transcends the rôle of a "maître de la sensibilité," a precursor of the great romantics. It would be a poor tribute to Diderot's always alert, perpetually questioning and revising intelligence to over-systematize his ideas. But I do believe that from his persistent dialogue with himself there emerges a conception of the poet and his ways that is not only new in his time, but reaches across the romantic period to such great artisans of the creative imagination as Delacroix and Baudelaire. A "maître de la sensibilité" by all means, but also not undeserving of the place Baudelaire assigns to him: "Diderot, Goethe, Shakspeare, autant de producteurs, autant d'admirables critiques."²³

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23. "Richard Wagner et Tannhäuser à Paris (1861), *Œuvres*, II, 496.

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF HENRI DE RÉGNIER

FOUR OF THE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS of Henri de Régnier that came to a French collector's New York shop¹ just before the fall of France in 1940 were addressed to Karl Boès, editor of *La Plume*. One of them was written to Jacques des Gachons and another probably to the same novelist. The other nine letters, more intimate and revealing as regards the personality and writing of Henri de Régnier, were addressed to his good friend and fellow-poet, the American-born Francis Vielé-Griffin.

The first letter is written on mourning stationery with a deep border, because Henri de Régnier's father had died in 1893. It probably belongs to some time in 1894, as it wishes his colleague, undoubtedly Jacques des Gachons, success for his *Livre des Légendes* in 1895:²

Lundi

Mon cher Confrère,

Voici un petit poème pour le livre des Légendes auquel je souhaite en 95 bonne réussite et heureuse fortune.

Bien à vous:

Henri de Régnier

The year of the second letter to Jacques des Gachons is not given, but it must have been written in 1895 or even in 1897, as Henri de Régnier speaks of his "recueils de contes." The plural noun makes it necessary that the letter be of a date after the publication in 1895 of his second book of stories, *Le Trèfle noir*,³ the first being *Contes à soi-même*,⁴ published in 1894. The latter may even belong to 1897 after the publication of *La Canne de jaspe*.⁵

11 mars

Mon cher des Gachons,

Merci de votre aimable proposition, mais en ce moment, je n'ai pas de poème inédit. Tout est dans le volume qui vient de paraître⁶ et que vous allez recevoir incessamment.

1. The Pierre Berès bookshop.

2. Jean de Gourmont records a *Livre des Légendes* for 1895 in his *Henri de Régnier et son œuvre*, Paris, 1908, p. 73. According to available references, Jacques des Gachons also published (in collaboration with André Peyrot) an *Album des Légendes* in 1894.

3. Mercure de France, 1895.

4. Librairie de l'Art Indépendant, 1894.

5. Mercure de France, 1897.

6. This may be either Henri de Régnier's *Aréthuse*, Librairie de l'Art Indépendant, 1895, or his *Poèmes, 1887-1892*, Mercure de France, 1895, or *Les Jeux rustiques et divins*, Mercure de France, 1897.

Pour des textes à reproduire, vous pouvez choisir ce qu'il vous plaira dans mes recueils de contes.

Cordialement à vous,

Henri de Régner

In December 1901, according to a rubber stamp mark on the back of the letter, Henri de Régner wrote to Karl Boès, editor of *La Plume*, asking for an estimate on a book by the Prince de Hohenlohe. This gentleman, the Prince Frédéric de Hohenlohe-Waldembourg, an Austrian living in Venice, was the author of an amusing, subtle book, *Sous le manteau vénitien*.⁷ He also wrote a short novel. Edmond Jaloux relates⁸ how one scarcely dared move in his Casetta Rossa because of the fragile Venetian glasses in his collection. Henri de Régner made use of his friend, the Prince, in his novel, *Le Mariage de Minuit*⁹ where he is an amusing, awkward fellow, called M. de Hangsdorff. The minor character, M. de Hohenheim, witness to a duel in Henri de Régner's novel, *La Peur de l'amour*¹⁰, is also modelled on the Prince.¹¹ As late as 1935 Henri de Régner was to write about him, this time spelling the second part of his name with an -n— Waldenburg.¹²

14 Rue Magdebourg

Mon cher Boès,

Pourriez-vous m'envoyer le devis [?] du petit volume du P^{re} de Hohenlohe. Je suis enrhumé et ne puis sortir.

Voici les vers pour la Plume.

Cordialement à vous

Henri de Régner

At the request of the Parnassian poet, Catulle Mendès, Henri de Régner served from 1900 to 1902 as literary director on *Le Journal*, succeeding his father-in-law, Jose-Maria de Heredia, under the direction of Henri Letellier, Etienne Grosclaude and Charles Humbert. It is, this time, from his editorial office that Henri de Régner writes as follows to Karl Boès:

7. Cf. Henri de Régner, *Portraits et Souvenirs*, 6^e édition, Mercure de France, pp. 165-172.

8. Cf. Edmond Jaloux, "Souvenirs sur Henri de Régner," *Le Mois Suisse*, juillet 1941, p. 16.

9. Mercure de France, 1903.

10. Mercure de France, 1907.

11. Three other Teutonic characters, M. Unterwald in *Le Passé vivant* (1905), M. Feller in *L'Amphisbène* (1912), and the Prince Louis-Gunther de Hartenberg of the story, "Hartenberg" in *Les Bonheurs perdus* (1925), have some traits that may have been borrowed from the Prince de Hohenlohe.

12. Cf. Henri de Régner, "Un amant de Venise," *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 12 janvier 1935.

Le Journal
100, Rue de Richelieu

Paris 3 avril 1902

Mon cher Boès,

Je suis au Journal à peu près tous les jours à 6 heures et demie et j'aurai grand plaisir à vous voir.

Cordialement
Henri de Régnier

Although he contributed to *La Plume*, Henri de Régnier did not appear in the lists of those present at the numerous banquets for authors given by that review. He did, however, occasionally serve as judge on its contests. The postmark of one of his letters in which he expresses willingness to serve with his fellow-poets, Jean Moréas and Emile Verhaeren, on such a jury is October 3, 1903:

2 Place Lebreton. Montfort-l'Amaury S et O¹³

Mon cher Boès,

J'accepte très volontiers de faire partie du jury de votre concours avec Moréas et Verhaeren, et je suis en cela à votre disposition, quant au banquet, c'est autre chose et je refuse franchement cet honneur qui me serait une corvée insupportable. J'ai en horreur ces cérémonies de table et de toasts. Excusez-moi donc. Quant à des vers, je n'en ai pas et il y a bien un an que je n'en ai faits. Si d'ici janvier la Muse me favorise je vous ferai part avec plaisir. Croyez-moi bien cordialement à vous.

Henri de Régnier

Once again Henri de Régnier is to excuse himself from a banquet, this time given for Verhaeren. Although something of a man of society himself, Henri de Régnier looked upon certain social entertainments, as we have just seen, with a critical eye:

Paris. Janvier 1904

Mon cher Boès,

Quoique¹⁴ je n'aime pas les Banquets, s'il y en a un où je fusse allé, c'eût été certainement à celui de Verhaeren que j'admire et que j'aime infiniment, mais Samedi je ne suis pas libre et je n'ai à mon grand regret, aucun moyen de me dégager pour ce soir-là. Sans cela, j'aurais été heureux de fêter avec vous ce grand poète.

Bien cordialement à vous:

Henri de Régnier

13. One of the suburban homes of José-Maria de Heredia.

14. Henri de Régnier rarely indents paragraphs and only occasionally uses the customary accents on words.

The friendship of Henri de Régnier and Francis Vielé-Griffin began in the Collège Stanislas where they were known as *Arcades ambo*. They were inseparable in the 1880's and 1890's when they both had their first verses in *Lutèce* and when they collaborated on Francis Vielé-Griffin's own review, *Les Entretiens Politiques et Littéraires*. The two *vers-libristes*, in fact, were to remain close friends until, when Henri de Régnier entered the French Academy in 1912, this concession to tradition seemed to Vielé-Griffin such unforgiveable treason toward the cause of *vers-libre*, for which they both had fought in their youthful days of symbolist polemics, that the friendship came to an end.¹⁵ Possibly this cooling influenced Vielé-Griffin's family to allow the letters to be sold.

In the course of the following letter, Henri de Régnier alludes to the poet and novelist, Pierre Louÿs. "Le jeune Louÿs" was only six years younger than Henri de Régnier. Author of *Astarte*, and later of *Aphrodite*, *Les Chansons de Bilitis*, etc., Pierre Louÿs had published his *Léda ou la Louange des bienheureuses ténèbres* in 1893 at the Librairie de l'Art Indépendant. He was to become Henri de Régnier's brother-in-law in 1899 when he married Louise de Heredia from whom he was later divorced. In a review of *Astarte*,¹⁶ Henri de Régnier speaks of these "vers sonores, langoureux et brillants" that are devoted to the cult of Beauty in a rich, scintillating language of rare words, "abondante et nerveuse."

Mardi, Dec. 93

Cher Francis,

Je te remercie du bien que tu penses de ces Contes¹⁷ j'en voudrais pouvoir penser autant mais j'ai moins d'indulgence pour leurs défauts que tu n'as de complaisance pour leurs qualités. Quant aux "qui," et aux "que" tu as tellement raison que je n'insiste pas. Voici donc ma besogne d'écrivain faite encore une fois. C'est à ton tour maintenant et j'attends Phocas¹⁸ ou la Clarté de Vie. Je leur souhaite meilleur accueil que celui que je reçois. Vraiment à notre époque on n'est pas gâté. Il est vrai que nous n'avons rien qui puisse lui plaire

15. Cf. Jean Ajalbert, *Mémoires en vrac*, Paris, 1938, p. 299 and André Gide, *Journal*, 1889-1939, Paris, 1939, entry for 27 mars 1911. I have received a letter, however, from Mme de Régnier, dated August 20, 1945, which gives as the reason for the misunderstanding Vielé-Griffin's jealousy that Régnier was chosen to lecture in America in 1900, and also the lassitude of too long a friendship and Régnier's too intimate knowledge of his friend's youth. The jealousy was probably the real reason.

16. *La Wallonie*, juillet-août 1892, p. 183. Henri de Régnier is to review *Aphrodite* in the *Revue Blanche* for 1896,¹ describing the Louÿs home during a literary discussion and noting that the taste of Pierre Louÿs for the past is a reaction to the insipid daily life of the present epoch which has out lived Beauty.

17. The date of the letter and the remark on the "qui" and "que" prove these stories to be *Contes à soi-même*, Librairie de l'Art Indépendant, 1894 (Printed November 1893).

18. Francis Vielé-Griffin, *Phocas le jardinier*, Mercure de France, 1897 and *La Clarté de vie*, Mercure de France, 1897.

et elle nous le fait sentir. Jamais je n'ai eu plus que maintenant le sentiment de l'indifférence ambiante; on y gagne de se mieux isoler et cela a du bon. La vie ici est assez morne en ce Décembre mou et gelatineux. Je ne vois presque personne et je lis le plus possible; c'est ma vieille, ma seule passion, écrire n'est que subsidiaire. J'ai pourtant à peu près terminé une sorte de conte coquet et glacial qui ne me déplaît pas trop et que tu verras en temps et lieu. Tâche de nous arriver vraiment en février; je ne peux bouger d'ici pour des raisons dont l'énumération serait fastidieuse. Que faites-vous là-bas avec Adam?¹⁹ Comment va-t-il? Ici j'entends parler de nouvelles revues qui se fondent; une chez Calmann Levy dont Ganderax sera directeur;²⁰ et puis cette revue Blanche²¹ qui se transforme. Tout annonce le réveil printannier des belles lettres. Pourtant il n'a pas paru un livre propre depuis des mois. J'en excepte les Images sentimentales de la Leda du jeune Louÿs qui est une élégante pierre gravée. Comment va la chère Madame; présente-lui mes hommages et ces demoiselles cueillent-elles toujours la fleur qui chante?²² Amitiés à Adam et bien à toi:

Henri de Régnier

Henri de Régnier's dramatic poem, *La Gardienne*, was staged on June 21, 1894, at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, with Mlle Lara in the feminine lead. This next letter, undated, must have been written prior to that date, for it refers to the play, at the same time speaking of Mlle Nau who had no part in the performance at the Œuvre, but must have been considered for an earlier performance that did not materialize. In fact, Mlle Nau, the actress who played the rôle of *La Fille Elisa* by Edmond de Goncourt, had recited parts of that play and some Régnier verses at a luncheon at Jean Lorrain's when both Henri de Régnier and Edmond de Goncourt were present, in 1892. Moreover, Alfred Jarry in the *Mercur de France* for September 1896 remarked²³ that three or four years previously there had been an attempt at a performance of *La Gardienne* at Presles "en bord de la forêt de l'Isle-Adam, sur un théâtre creusé dans la montagne." This letter therefore may refer to that time. Its date must be 1893 (the stationery again has a wide black border), but no earlier than November when *Contes à soi-même*, to which Henri de Régnier refers, was printed.

19. Paul Adam, the novelist. For Henri de Régnier's relations with and literary criticism of Paul Adam, cf. *La Revue Blanche*, III (décembre 1892?), 289-290, and *Nos Rencontres*, 12^e édition, Mercure de France, 1931, pp. 75-84. Cf. also Edmond Jaloux, "Souvenirs . . . , etc.," *Le Mois Suisse*, juillet 1941.

20. Louis Ganderax who was dramatic critic on the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* (1880-1888), and later for the *Revue Hebdomadaire*, became literary director of the *Revue de Paris*, founded in 1894.

21. Founded in 1891 by the Natanson brothers.

22. Whether this refers to an imaginative idea of the Vielé-Griffin children or of either poet is not revealed.

23. Page 472.

Cher Francis,

Je reçois à l'instant quelques exemplaires de mon livre²⁴ et j'en mets un à la poste pour Adam. Il te le prêtera volontiers car je ne crois pas que mes bégaiements de prosateur puissent beaucoup intéresser qui possède une claire maîtrise en la partie. L'exemplaire que je t'envierai sur "grand papier," selon l'expression prétentieuse mais usuelle n'est pas encore prêt et dès qu'il le sera je te l'adresserai. Je compte que tu m'éciras ton impression de cette tentative plus ou moins réussie. J'ai grande confiance dans ton jugement car tu es de bonne critique et d'esprit compréhensif. Tu as l'air de croire que je suis indifférent: hélas, non et ma tour d'ivoire est bâtie dans un marécage assez pestilentiel.²⁵ Néanmoins je fais bonne contenance devant l'époque et tu me trouverais assez debout, tout de même.

Du reste je travaille à une sorte de petit roman²⁶ d'une centaine de pages dont 20 sont faites à moitié et qui m'amuse infiniment. Il y aura là des aventures illogiques mais jolies et je donne cette fois quelque soin au style. Hors cela rien. Je n'ai guère vu personne à peu près hors ce poète Khnopff²⁷ de Bruxelles et je suis en train de me quereller avec la Nau au sujet du retrait de la Gardienne. Dès que j'aurai passé l'embarras des envois du petit livre je t'écirai longuement pour de bon.

Mes respects à la Dame et mes amitiés à Adam: je voudrais qu'il m'envoie l'adresse d'Ajalbert.²⁸

Adieu, vieil ami, ton:

HR

A polemic article in the *Echo de Paris*, June 19, 1895, signed "Tybalt" by Laurent Tailhade²⁹ having involved its author in a duel with Jules Bois, writer of verse plays and occultist novels, the latter chose Edouard Dujardin, editor of *La Revue Wagnérienne*, and the "democrat" Léopold Lacour as witnesses, whereas Laurent Tailhade chose Henri de Régnier and Armand Silvestre, Parnassian poet-playwright whom

24. Undoubtedly *Contes à soi-même*, as Henri de Régnier had not yet offered any other volume of prose to the public. (See next sentence of the letter.)

25. This expression is not unexpected from an intellectual descendant of Charles Baudelaire and of Edgar Allan Poe.

26. Possibly *Le Trèfle noir* published in 1895 by the Mercure de France, beautiful, symbolic tales of Hermotime, Hermas and Hertulie, of Hermagore and Hermocrate which appeared over several years in *La Revue Blanche*, 1891, 1893, etc., but more probably the "M. d'Amercœur" stories added to the *Contes à soi-même* and the *Trèfle noir* in *La Canne de jaspé*, Mercure, 1897.

27. This is very probably Georges Khnopff whom René Ghil mentions in the same breath with Emile Verhaeren as one of the Belgian poets of the time in his article on Stuart Merrill's *Les Gammes* in *Les Ecrits pour l'Art*, No. 3. (7 mars 1887). Georges Khnopff translated Richard Wagner's journal and some of his letters.

28. Jean Ajalbert wrote regional and exotic novels as well as the *Mémoires en vrac* already referred to and which speaks considerably of Henri de Régnier.

29. Laurent Tailhade was a Parnassian poet who evolved toward symbolism. For a picturesque portrait, cf. Henri de Régnier, "Laurent Tailhade," *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 3 mars 1934.

Tailhade admired.³⁰ Although Jules Bois consented to a duel with pistols because the health of Laurent Tailhade did not permit the use of swords, all present were perfectly able to go, afterwards, to the Ermitage de Villebon to draw up the report—on paper which, so frequent were duels there, bore a design of two rabbits with foils duelling furiously. Henri de Régnier's gift for ironic portraiture is evident in his more personal report to Francis Vielé-Griffin.

In the second part of the same letter, Henri de Régnier mentions one or the other of his articles on François Coppée, the popular Parnassian poet. In the first article, which appeared in *Les Entretiens Politiques et Littéraires* in October 1892,³¹ Henri de Régnier had said that although friends of François Coppée praise the superiority of the man to excuse the inferiority of the work, and his enemies attack him all the more malevolently for not making his works conform to his intelligence, he is above criticism, having the assent of the common people. He is their "Homère en veston."

In the second article,³² which appeared in *La Revue Blanche* in 1895, de Régnier mentions a speech by François Coppée which attacked the new school of poets and its disrespectful treatment of its masters as "vieillards encombrants." The ironic symbolist denies that François Coppée is old, for his attack is vigorous, and that he encumbers any important place in our thought or libraries. Coppée chose fame among the common herd and cannot complain. Yet he generalizes his grievance on behalf of all Parnassians, although he was the least Parnassian among them. He was "Montparnassien." And Henri de Régnier concludes with praise of the great Parnassian poets and their Romantic predecessors.

Since the second article and the letter in question were written the same Spring the letter probably refers to this second article.

Paris. Dimanche Juin 95

Cher Francis,

Tu as sans doute vu dans les feuilles le duel de Bois et de Tailhade. Cela s'est fort bien passé, et cette dangereuse promenade à Villebon n'a eu d'autre résultat que de me mettre au mieux avec Armand Silvestre. Les hasards de la vie sont vraiment comiques. Ce gros parnassien est un homme fort gai, avec, en sa vulgarité, des restes de distinction. On sent qu'il a dû être fort intelligent et d'esprit élégant et que tout cela a disparu à peu près dans un [sic] sensualité vineuse et redondante. Tailhade est dans un état de corps misérable: les cheveux tout blancs vieilli de morphine et couturé de sa terrible cicatrice: du reste

30. For a formal account of the duel, cf. *Mercur de France*, juillet 1895, pp. 127-128.

31. "Portraits: M. Coppée," pp. 180 ff.

32. "La Tête de M. Coppée," *Revue Blanche*, 1895¹, pp. 540 ff.

toujours madrigaliseur et avec du tour. Quant à Bois il avait amené pour témoins le démocrate Lacour et le sportsman Dujardin en gants gris perle et en redingote 1831. On s'est battu dans un petit champ où il y avait une vache et des poules. J'ai fait les pas; ils étaient bons.

Tu as fait, toi, d'excellents vers dans l'Echo de Paris et j'attends ton article sur Coppée. Le mien a scandalisé mais comme disait jadis notre Lazare³³ "il a porté." Ce serait vraiment un métier amusant que de faire des chroniques et je crois qu'on pourrait dire des choses fortes et qui, maintenant qu'on nous lit, auraient leur utilité. Il faudra voir pour l'hiver prochain. L'"Almanach"³⁴ paraîtra, si non, toutefois je n'en aurai pas compromis l'apparition car j'ai fait la pièce sur Septembre et il se trouve par hasard que c'est tout à fait une bonne chose je crois. Je commence à penser à mon été et je rêve d'aller à Nazelles³⁵ me refaire et travailler au Trèfle rouge.³⁶ La belle dame et toi avez bien voulu m'inviter et je crois bien que vous verrez vers les 2/3 d'Août, si l'époque vous plaît, débarquer mes jambes, mon monocle et mes anecdotes les plus choisies. As-tu au moins reçu le Mystère des Foules. C'est un livre extraordinaire. Cet Adam est un grand écrivain et c'est un des visionnaires les plus étonnants de l'époque. Il y a du Hugo chez cet être. Toute la fin du livre sur la guerre est vraiment admirable. As-tu un peu commencé à travailler: j'ai lu un beau fragment de Phocas dans le Coq rouge. Il faudrait terminer ce poème dont tout ce que [je] connais me semble du meilleur.

Voilà à peu près tout; donc mes hommages à Madame et crois-moi bien ton:
Henri de Régner

The following letter is undated, but probably belongs to 1897, as it advises sending to Ferdinand Brunetière, the critic, Francis Vielé-Griffin's *Clarté de Vie* which appeared that year.³⁷

Dimanche soir

Cher Francis,

Veux-tu envoyer à Brunetière, 4 Rue Bara, un exemplaire de la *Clarté de Vie*. Il fait un article pour l'Atheneum, sur la poésie d'aujourd'hui, dont nous sommes, et désirerait avoir ton volume. Fais-le-lui parvenir dès que tu pourras car il part à la fin de la semaine pour Arcachon.

33. Bernard Lazare, journalist, essayist, who fought to free Alfred Dreyfus. Cf. Henri de Régner's review of *Le Miroir des Légendes* by Bernard Lazare in *La Wallonie*, juillet-août, 1892, p. 179.

34. Henri de Régner contributed to the 1896 and 1897 *Almanachs des Poètes*.

35. Francis Vielé-Griffin's home was for a long time at Nazelles in Touraine near Amboise.

36. Henri de Régner, *Le Trèfle rouge*, Mercure de France, 1895, later called *Les Amants singuliers*, Mercure, 1901. The book consists of three short novels.

37. Cf. Ferdinand Brunetière's editorial apology, page 408, in the January 15, 1896 issue of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for printing Régner poems. The critic was, nevertheless, as a friend of José-Maria de Heredia, a witness at the Régner wedding. Cf. also *Le Figaro*, 30 mai 1920, where Régner tells of his friendly relations with the critic; *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 4 août 1934 for a Régner article on Ferdinand Brunetière, and also the latter's *Évolution de la Poésie Lyrique en France*, Paris, Hachette, 1894, II, 248-254.

Je reçois des lettres lamentables du misérable Du Plessys,³⁸ il va sortir de l'hôpital Laennec où il est encore pour quelques jours et il m'écrit qu'il n'aura ni domicile, ni linge, etc. . . . Si tu as quelques sous disponibles garde les moi, je les joindrai à ce que je pourrai trouver pour ce pauvre diable. Nous reparlerons de cela Mercredi ou avant.

A toi:

Henri de Régnier

A new duel enters the correspondence when, having taken offense at a jesting remark made by one of José-Maria de Heredia's daughters, the proud, conceited Count Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac challenges de Régnier, as husband of one of the daughters and defender of his sister-in-law. The affair later gave Henri de Régnier material for a characterization in one of his novels.³⁹ The two poets met on June 8, 1897, de Régnier winning when he wounded the Count in the left hand. In one of his letters, dated undoubtedly from June 1897, Henri de Régnier expresses his opinion of the Count:

Jeudi soir

Cher Francis,

Le temps passe vertigineux et je n'ai le "temps de rien" comme ne dirait pas un puriste. D'ailleurs, on étouffe et malgré cette température tu pourrais me voir chaque matin à la salle d'armes me livrer aux jeux de l'épée. J'y ai pris goût et je me perfectionne. J'ai eu beaucoup d'ennuis à la suite de cette affaire Montesquiou. Cette fripouille a dépassé mon attente en perfidie malpropre et j'espère le repincer un jour. Pour nous distraire un peu nous partons Mercredi pour Amsterdam voir des canaux, des pignons et des Rembrandt. Nous reviendrons par Cologne et Aix-la-Chapelle. En tout dix ou douze jours. Nous croiserons peut-être Adam à la Haye où il abrite sa lune de miel. Le mariage a eu lieu. Ce fut dit-on le "Mariage forcé."

Cette famille Meyer⁴⁰ me semble indescrivable et digne d'un romancier. J'ai vu Verhaeren, souffrant et maigri se guérissant un peu. Le chaste Herold⁴¹ part pour La Prat à bicyclette. Paris se vide. J'ai des monceaux de livres à lire. J'en ai lu un, le tien. Je ne te parlerai pas des Chansons à l'Ombre. Elles sont bien agréables et au Gré de l'Heure et à moi. Quant à l'Arcadie, cher Francis, ah l'Arcadie, c'est plus que tout à fait bien et la Coupe, et le Satyreau

38. Maurice du Plessys, poet of the neo-classicist "Ecole romane."

39. For a partial account of the affair and of the characterization in *Le Mariage de Minuit* where the Count is called Jacques de Serpigny, cf.: Henri de Régnier, *Proses datées*, 3^e éd., Mercure de France, 1925, p. 18, pp. 72-77 and *Nos Rencontres*, 12^e éd., Mercure, 1931, pp. 235-244, 158-164. Cf. also Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac, *Les Pas Effacés*, Emile-Paul Frères, 1923, II, 184, 276, 285; III, 11-17, 292.

40. It is possible that Henri de Régnier refers to the family of the journalist, Arthur Meyer, but the reference is too vague to prove it.

41. André-Ferdinand Herold, symbolist poet, dramatist, Sanskrit scholar. Cf. Henri de Régnier in *Journal des Débats*, 16^e, 4 juin 1909, pp. 1032-1034 where he reviews a play by Ferdinand Herold, *Maisonseule*, and tells of a vacation spent with that poet, when, in the mountains, the two young men came upon a house whose name later became that of the play.

et le Chevrier et le Bucheron et Euphorbe.⁴² Ah que c'est donc bien, que c'est donc bien. J'ai été ravi. Voilà des choses dont il est difficile de rendre compte au Mercure. J'essaierai par quelque moyen détourné. Ecris-moi ce que tu fais. Marie vous envoie ses amitiés. Mes hommages à la chère Madame. Ma tante de Pons⁴³ est à peu près de même mais bien faible. Au revoir et à toi.

Henri de Régnier

An undated letter to Vielé-Griffin must belong to the summer of 1898, for Henri de Régnier refers indirectly to his wife's indisposition and to his own paternal responsibilities. Their son was born September 8, 1898:

Mercredi

Cher Francis,

Merci de votre gracieuse invitation. Marie a écrit à ta femme pourquoi nous ne pouvions nous y rendre. Je n'y ajoute donc rien que de nouveau notre regret. Je connais donc maintenant les "charges de la paternité." Le temps est un peu meilleur. On respire depuis trois jours. Cet après-midi nous étions à Versailles. C'était admirable. J'ai vu des choses bien curieuses. La forge de Louis XVI et l'appartement de Mme du Barry. Je me munis.⁴⁴ Hors cela rien. J'ai fait une nouvelle d'une assez belle tournure et je mets en ordre mon prochain volume de vers.⁴⁵ Pourquoi a-t-on encore retardé le Forgeron?⁴⁶ L'article qui le remplace est d'ailleurs excellent et définitif.

Adieu. Je suis abruti de cette journée de campagne historique et je vais dormir.

A toi

Henri de Régnier

Marie and Henri de Régnier had decided to nick-name their child "Tigre" even before his birth. His real name was to be Pierre. Aside from this, the following letter indicates that Henri de Régnier has begun his first novel, *La Double Maîtresse*, which appeared in 1900.

Juillet 98

Cher Francis,

J'ai mis de côté pour toi les numéros de la Revue Blanche qui contiennent les inédits de Laforgue. Je te les remettrai en Octobre ou, si tu préfères, je puis

42. The names cited are titles of Francis Vielé-Griffin's poems in *La Clarté de Vie*, Mercure de France, 1897. "Au gré de l'heure" was dedicated to Henri de Régnier.

43. Henri de Régnier's maternal aunt, Mathilde de Pons, née du Bard de Curley.

44. Henri de Régnier was probably documenting himself on Versailles preparatory to writing his novel, *Le Bon Plaisir*, published in 1902 by the Mercure de France, a novel which shows how Louis XIV's favor or lack of it could influence the lives of 17th-century characters. The scene of a good part of the book is Versailles. Henri de Régnier likewise devoted his volume of poems, *La Cité des eaux*, also appearing in 1902 at the Mercure, to Versailles. He loved the place and spoke of it often.

45. Probably *Les Médailles d'Argile* that appeared in 1900.

46. Francis Vielé-Griffin, *La Légende aïlée de Wieland le forgeron*, Mercure de France, 1900.

te les envoyer. Nous sommes maintenant complètement installés. Tout le monde va bien et la mère de Tigre supporte gaillardement son état malgré la chaleur qui est une fatigue pour elle car pour moi je m'en accommode le mieux du monde et je trouve Paris, en sa solitude d'été, une ville parfaite. Je n'ai plus aucun désir d'en sortir, et n'ai aucune envie de voir se "lever l'aurore" ailleurs qu'ici. On naît naturiste et on ne le devient pas. Je commence à préférer les pensées aux sensations et la méditation des choses à leur spectacle. J'ai pu me remettre au travail et j'ai même griffonné les cinquante premières pages d'un roman. Ce n'est point une "œuvre capitale," mais c'est un essai qui m'intéresse dans un genre où j'ai des visées, peut-être présomptueuses quoi que [sic] modestes. Je crois que sans être Balzac on peut être mieux que Bourget. Enfin cela m'amuse. Inutile d'ajouter que je ne sais rien et que je ne vois personne. Herold est venu me faire ses adieux.

Il m'a "avoué" diverses choses, entre autres, qu'il est bien difficile de placer une pièce. Il semblait moins arrogant. Encore quelques années d'antichambre dans les principaux théâtres de Paris et il redeviendra parfait et modeste, comme autrefois. On pourra alors le décorer et il acceptera la préfecture pour laquelle les Dieux administratifs l'ont doué si abondamment. Marie vous envoie ses amitiés; ma mère et ma sœur leur meilleur souvenir. On embrasse Mesdemoiselles

A toi

Henri de Régnier

The last letter but one⁴⁷ in this collection, aside from its personal references, mentions Henri de Régnier's work on *La Double Maitresse* which though once again not named, is easily identified by the fact that he speaks of the Cardinal who raised monkeys. Henri de Régnier here indicates that he wrote his realistic book about Rome without having been there, a proof of what research can accomplish for creative as well as for critical writers. The letter must belong to some time in 1899 or to late 1898, as Henri de Régnier speaks of his baby son.

An important point in this letter is the mention of the election of the Prince of Poets. In 1894 *Le Journal* had instituted a *Congrès des poètes* and Paul Verlaine had received seventy-seven votes, José-Maria de Heredia thirty-eight, Stéphane Mallarmé thirty-six, François Coppée twenty-six and Henri de Régnier eleven. In the 1896 election for the Prince of Poets, as announced by *La Plume* in the issue for 15-30 June 1896, Stéphane Mallarmé became the Prince, Henri de Régnier got eleven votes once again, and José-Maria de Heredia received nine. Hand-bills had been posted behind the Institut in the cafés Procope, Chat-Noir, Vachette, Poussier, Nouvelle Athènes, all frequented by poets of the day, and on the walls of the Odéon theatre, as well as in

47. The final letter is reserved for this writer's forthcoming work on Henri de Régnier, since it speaks of Symbolism and of Henri de Régnier's tour of America.

the editorial rooms of *La Revue Blanche*, *Le Mercure de France*, *l'Ermitage*, *La Jeune Belgique*, *Pan*, *L'Art et la Vie* and *La Plume*. Each poet modestly disclaimed his right to be on the list and suggested another poet in his place. Henri de Régnier in his best *précieux-symboliste* manner pleaded for the election of José-Maria de Heredia. Mallarmé nevertheless won. The hand-bill in which Henri de Régnier suggests that he is on the threshold of the French Academy, a hint of his growing ambition, reads as follows:⁴⁸

Chers Poètes!

La Mémoire pleure accoudée dans la Barque qui glisse abandonnée sur le Fleuve.

La Torche—Signe du Sceptre—dévolue à qui doit présider aux destinées du Rhythme, gît sur la Terrasse Taciturne! Le Glaive est appendu tristement sur la Porte! Et la main défaillante de Verlaine a laissé tomber l'Anneau!

Quelques-uns me voudraient léguer et la Torche, et le Glaive et l'Anneau! Ils oublient quels filiaux devoirs me lient aujourd'hui à un poète haut dont le Soir appelle plus que mon jeune Front le Laurier.

Déjà la Gloire l'a placé à l'Académie. Je n'en suis encore qu'au Seuil.

Chers Poètes!

Votez pour José-Maria de Heredia!

Henri de Régnier

There is, strangely enough, no record in *La Plume* for late 1898 nor for 1899 of the contest to which Henri de Régnier refers in the next letter, which, judging by its approximate date, follows the death of Stéphane Mallarmé in October 1898, although the contest evidently was to choose Mallarmé's successor. The eventual winner was Léon Dierx, according to Marcel Braunschvig.⁴⁹

Dimanche

Mon cher Francis,

Je ne t'aurai, certes, jamais moins écrit que cette années mais je ne sais comment je vis et les jours passent sans que j'aie eu le temps d'une lettre. Le vrai est qu'en somme je travaille beaucoup et qu'une fois mon travail fait j'ai horreur de l'écriture, même sous sa forme amicale. Il faudra que nous ayons le téléphone de Nazelles à la rue de Magdebourg. Ici tout le monde va bien, y compris le jeune Tigre qui est, dit-on, fort beau et d'une intelligence qui ne manquera pas d'être supérieure. En attendant d'étonner ses contemporains il crie, boit et dort. J'espère que tu as suivi avec intérêt dans les journaux l'élection du Prince des Poètes à laquelle j'ai vu que tu avais participé. Le seul fait remarquable de toute cette affaire est que Coppée, il me semble bien, n'a pas eu une seule voix.

48. Henri de Régnier in *La Plume*, 15-30 juin 1896, p. 35.

49. Cf. *La Littérature française contemporaine*, Armand Colin, 1926, p. 11. Cf. also Sisley Huddleston, *Paris Salons, Cafés, Studios*, New York, Blue Ribbon Books, 1928, p. 213.

J'avais pensé à lui donner la mienne ce qui l'eût évidemment consolé de l'ingratitude littéraire de tous ceux qui se refusent à l'admirer mais je la garde pour Mendès à la prochaine occasion. Ne supposent [sic] pas que toutes ces balivernes m'occupent beaucoup. Je vis à Rome que je cherche à m'imaginer par la photographie et par les livres. Je vais en bicyclette à Saint-Cloud qui doit beaucoup ressembler au Pincio et j'ajoute quelques pages à mon roman qui est vraiment un assez bel amas de bizarreries dont l'agencement m'amuse infiniment et où l'on voit un Cardinal éleveur de singes qui est vraiment un personnage de fort belle figure.

J'espère, cher Francis que Nazelles est en bonne santé! Vous trouverez à la gare d'Amboise un petit colis postal contenant les dragées de Tigre. Marie vous envoie ses souvenirs affectueux; mes hommages à la chère Madame et à toi ton

Henri de Régnier

J'ai vu les Rysselberghe⁵⁰ fort bien installés et enchantés de Paris. J'aimerais mieux Rome!

MARIE C. MENGERS

University of Wisconsin

50. Theo van Rysselberghe, neo-impressionist painter, and his wife.

REVIEWS

Le Roman du Furre de Gadres d'Eustache: Essai d'Etablissement de ce Poème du XII^e Siècle tel qu'il a existé avant d'être incorporé dans le Roman d'Alexandre, avec les deux récits latins qui lui sont apparentés. Par E. C. Armstrong et Alfred Foulet. *Version of Alexandre de Paris: Variants and Notes to Branch II.* With an introduction by Frederick B. Agard. (The Medieval French *Roman d'Alexandre*, Elliott Monographs, Vols. iv and v) Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. 110 and 250.

A highly significant feature of the *Roman d'Alexandre* is the fact that between the Latin sources and the extant versions there existed in two instances superior literary compositions whose poetic and structural virtues have been obscured by subsequent interpolations and deformations in keeping with changing literary conventions. These were Lambert's *Alexandre en Orient* and Eustache's *Roman du Furre de Gadres* (RFGa), poems probably contemporaneous and earliest examples of the Alexandrine meter. A reconstitution of the second of these lost poems has appeared in Volume iv of the Princeton edition of the RAlx. The enormous labor expended in solving the intricate problems of the relationship of the extant accounts of the foray theme is thoroughly justifiable, not merely in that a favorite twelfth-century poem of merit has been rescued from oblivion, but because new information has been gained on literary trends and procedures of the period, particularly in respect to cyclic literature. The fact, brilliantly demonstrated, that interest in the Crusades brought about notable modifications in the RAlx will interest specialists in the problem of the origins of the *chanson de geste*.

Writing in a concise and guarded French style, the editors have presented their case with conviction and subtlety. The reviewer will limit himself to an evaluation of the method of restoration, considering primarily the conflicting evidence and problems that invite further elucidation.

The 88-page introduction, preceding the 15 pages of text, is divided into ten sections, the first of which lists six facts to prove that between the Latin sources and the Old French manuscript versions of the foray story there must have existed a *Roman du Furre de Gadres* by a certain Eustache. The arguments are not all equally or separately valid. Thus the statement that the 14th-century Latin version cannot be a translation of Alexandre de Paris (AdeP) since it lacks all the passages that AdeP added to the RFGa, and therefore should be taken as a translation of the lost Eustache poem, fails to meet the objection that the translator may have deleted AdeP or even Eustache. As frequently happens, what the editors state as a fact is a probability but not necessarily a certainty. The combined evidence, however, does justify an attempt at restoration, a task which becomes increasingly feasible as the sources (discussed in Section 2) are identified.

The archpriest Leon's translation of the Pseudo-Callisthenes exists in three versions, the last of which, the I³ version of the *Historia de Preliis*, contains in chapters 26–27 a foray story absent from its source I¹. The editors take this to be the oldest version and the source of Eustache. However Friedrich Pfister¹ maintained that these chapters represented an abridgement of a French FGa. His arguments are refuted with only fair success. To Pfister's argument that the I³ text is too short to have served as the "canevas" for the FGa, the reply is made that he was thinking of the AdeP version, whereas that of Eustache is far less disproportionate. This refutation is weak since the editors use I³ to eliminate the AdeP "additions," and thus achieve Eustache's proportions. Pfister pointed out that the French FGa lacks passages common to I¹ and I³. The answer that Eustache had logical grounds for excluding these as digressions from the foray theme meets the objection, but does not help the case for making I³ the source. Pfister further noted that I³ uses characters not identified for the reader, which makes I³ look like an abbreviated text. This the editors deny, arguing that if I³ fails in chapters 26–27 to identify Méléagre, Arideus and Caulus, it is because he will include them later (chapter 127) in the list of Alexander's heirs, and that when I³ says that Bituricus comes out from Gadir, we can easily guess that the town belongs to him. They admit that Sanson might well have been identified more clearly and note that Eustache, sensing this, made him a pretender to Tyr. Pfister's case here is the more convincing. Finally Pfister finds I³'s text incoherent. The editors reply that Pfister bases his argument on his I³ text from which the passages common to I¹ were excluded, and that the complete text is coherent. But Pfister noted that the foray material is divided into three sections between which occurs I³ narrative; and that specifically the last sentence of section one should logically be followed by section three, not by section two from the I¹ narrative. Therefore his charge of incoherence is based on the complete text. Pfister's specific objection should have been met.

The editors now explain I³'s method and sources. All I³ details added to I¹ can be found in Quintus Curtius with the exception of the actual foray itself. For this there is no single source, for the redactor of I³ picked up bits hither and yon and combined them into his own tale. Quintus Curtius may have furnished the starting point, Albert d'Aix some details from his *Historia Hierosolymitana*, with even more coming from the author of the *Chanson de Jerusalem*. None of these sources furnishes the key theme—that of the leader who can not persuade any one of his men to risk honor by leaving a critical battle to seek help. Credit for introducing this theme is given to I³. The question the reviewer would raise here is why a redactor who looked far and wide for data, and had the imagination to add the moral conflict, made so little use of his material.

Proper names are now studied in order to show that a French FGa is not needed as a source for those present in I³. In chapter 127 of the *Historia de Preliis* the list of Alexander's legatees varies in I¹, I², and I³. Three Greek

1. ZFSL 41 (1913), 102–108.

knights in I³'s foray appear only in the I³ version of 127. One of these, Caulus, appears for the first time in the history of the RALix. The editors argue that I³ borrowed Arideus, Caulus, and Méléagre from his own chapter 127. But how does this solve the problem of sources? If I³ did not add these names to 127 to bring the list into accord with his interpolation of 26-27, why were they there? Did he invent Caulus? We are told that I³ invented Balaam, "duc de Tyr," that he deformed Betis de Gaza into Biturius de Gadir, chose Theoselius as a name for the leader of the herdsmen, and took Sanson for the guide. This is admittedly the same Sanson who plays an important role in the *Alexandre décasyllabique* (ADéca). The editors will demonstrate in a later volume of the edition that ADéca got Sanson from I³. Naturally they do not raise the question here of a possible common source. I³ introduced two placenames. As did the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, he used the valley of Josaphat for the scene of the foray, and since he could not logically use Jerusalem as the enemy stronghold, he invented Gadir, suggested by Gaza of Quintus Curtius and influenced perhaps by the biblical Gederá near Jerusalem. This leads the editors to suggest that echoes from the Crusades led I³ to insert this tale of the foray into his *Historia de Preliis*. The French twice laid siege to Tyre. I³, writing between 1130 and 1140, might well have looked to recent events to embellish his account of Alexander's operations in the same territory. Thus in order to make I³ independent of a French source, he has had to be credited with considerable invention and resourcefulness, despite the meagerness of his account.

Section 3 provides, with the generous aid of Professor F. P. Magoun, an excellent critical edition of I³ based on 34 MSS. Section 4 presents the text of the late Latin version of the FGa found on the recto and verso of leaf 66 of the famous 14th-century MS *Plut.* xxix 8 in the Laurentian library of Florence, whose folios 44 to 77 contain some 50 Latin texts collected, and according to Henri Hauvette transcribed, by Boccacio. The text appears to be a recent scholarly exercise. The editors claim that the "translation" was based on the lost RFGa of Eustache. It corresponds to AdeP ii 1-32 but lacks certain passages which are "interpolations évidentes d'AdeP ou bien des passages qu'il est facile de lui attribuer." The Florence version (FGaFlor) is unfortunately incomplete. The photographic reproduction shows a page three-quarters blank, suggesting perhaps that the "translator" became tired of his project or that Boccacio was interested in the first part only. The document is of crucial importance.

Section 6 gives a brief discussion of the *Fuerre au Val Daniel* of Lambert-2 (RALix iii 317-340), said to be visibly "calqué" on the RFGa. Lambert-2 changes names, scenes, and actors but keeps the main outline and carries his imitation "jusqu'à reproduire les expressions et les mots de son modèle." Proof of this assertion is not given here, since it would normally come in a later volume of the Princeton edition. Yet it would seem hard to prove that in the readings in question Lambert-2 imitated Eustache rather than that AdeP imitated Lambert-2.

In section 7 AdeP's version of the FGa is discussed. Alexander of Paris,

revising the RALix around 1180-1190, turned the ADéca into dodecasyllables while considerably lengthening its account (Branch i, 1-128), followed this by Eustache's FGa but with serious changes, interpolations and additions (i, 129-157, ii, 1-109), and composed 40 stanzas (ii, 110-149) as a bridge to Lambert's Branch iii. A thorough analysis of AdeP's sources and literary practice provided clues to the lost Eustache. Thus AdeP, using extensively Quintus Curtius, identified Eustache's Bétis de Gadres with Bétis de Gaza of Quintus Curtius, whose account of Alexander's siege of Gaza AdeP introduced into the FGa, thereby making the foray itself secondary. Material from Guillaume de Tyr, the *Historia de Preliis* and other Latin sources, the *Roman de Troie*, Albéric's *Alexandre*, the ADéca, the Amalgamated RALix, the *Fuerre au Val Daniel* will be eliminated from the reconstituted Eustache text as AdeP embellishments. Unquestionably the editors are well acquainted with AdeP's stylistic traits, "dont beaucoup révèlent un manque de proportion et d'exactitude." He is fond of battle scenes, the war cry Mascedoine, direct quotation, "regrets," prophesying, rare rhymes; he varies the endings of proper names, freely repeats rhymes within a stanza, and occasionally makes slips in grammar and versification. It is claimed he made two revisions of his FGa and was unable to avoid inconsistencies. Considerable use is made of these clues in establishing Eustache's text. But for this method to be at all safe, we need assurance that these traits were not shared to any extent by the earlier Eustache.

We need not go into the complications presented by the post-AdeP "Gadifer" versions of the FGa, but simply note that before attempting to recover Eustache it was necessary to determine the AdeP text itself. Section 9 discusses the *Roman du Fueire de Gadres*. Congratulations are in order that a twelfth-century poet, wishing to celebrate in verse both ancient history and the events of the Crusades, saw in the foray episode in I^a a theme worthy of detachment from the Alexander and of separate development. This poet, Eustache, perceived that the moral conflict, neglected by I^a, contained sufficient pathos to serve as the "raison d'être" of his composition. By avoiding AdeP's prolixity, satisfying himself with a closely-knit poem of not more than 700 lines, developing somewhat I^a's framework (the investiture and capture of Tyre) but eliminating the parleys with the high priest and Alexander's dream, playing up only the battle which presented the moral conflict, the poet showed "un véritable talent littéraire." The reviewer would concur in this estimate of Eustache if it were certain that I^a was the source, that the prolixities were all AdeP's, that the FGaFlor was a faithful translation, and if no indications were present implying inferior talent.

The analysis of the RFGa characters partly clarifies and, it must be admitted, partly beclouds the problem of the genesis of this version. The fact that several Greek knights present in Eustache but absent from I^a came from Quintus Curtius complicates the problem of sources, since AdeP, we are told, used the same source even more extensively than did Eustache. The substitution of *Eumenes Cardianus* (from *De Viris illustribus* of Cornelius Nepos) for Méléagre of I^a is satisfactorily explained by the great importance given by Eustache to

the moral conflict, although the reasons for the change of *Eumenes* to *Eumenides* "restraint obscures." It is argued that in Eustache *Cardianus* probably was "de Carge" and that by confusion with *Arcadia* it became in AdeP "d'Arcage." Unhappily the FGaFlor has "Eumenidum de Arcadia." The editors (page 29, note 5) claim "une erreur identique" rather than admit the form in Eustache or suggest that the FGaFlor translated a non-Eustache or later version. Yet we would expect this kind of error from a scribe, but hardly from a faithful translator. The statement that Eustache, whose idea it was to identify *Sanson* as "Sanson qui clame Tyr," was satisfied with this one allusion to Sanson's ambition appears categorical. Its accuracy depended upon the elimination of all other references as merely AdeP interpolations. *Salor* and *Sabilor* are Eustache inventions appearing only once, where they serve as rhymes. The statement that Eustache mentioned *Balés* only at the conclusion to his RFGa might have been made with reservation. The case for an oblique form *Balec* in Eustache under the influence of *Balac* in Foucher de Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana* is excellent, and is supported by other evidence of Crusade influence. From the detailed analysis of the "curieux enchaînement de circonstances" giving rise to *Bétis de Gadres* it should be noted that here Eustache was not faithfully following I³ (who distinguished a Biturius de Gadir from Betis of Gaza), since Eustache went back to the original *Bétis* while keeping the imaginary Gadir transformed into *Gadres*. It is indeed curious that Eustache should have left the final step of identifying topographically *Gadres* with *Gaza* to AdeP. Presumably it was Eustache who changed *Theoselius* into *Oteserie*. That a character invented by Eustache appears as *Lucianor* in AdeP and as *Canutus* in the FGaFlor poses a serious problem which should have been discussed in detail since it reflects seriously on the validity of the FGaFlor as a guide. The evidence is convincing that *Alier* is an invention by Eustache for rhyme purposes, as are *Mormonde* and *Valestre*. The fact that *Gibiers* may be a "cheville" as are the four proper names listed in the footnote 31, page 35, (add *Salor* and *Sabilor*) induced the statement "Pourtant, quand il ne s'agit pas d'un nom propre, Eustache ne sacrifie que rarement à la rime." Since one cannot be sure, it would be incautious to assume that other "chevilles" may readily be attributed to AdeP. It is stated that the RFGa existed independently, that "sa composition est due à l'intérêt qu' Eustache portait aux Croisades," and that AdeP incorporated it into the RALix. These conclusions, judging by the evidence so far published, seem reasonable. The approximate date 1155-1165 is given for the RFGa, dating of Lambert's *Alexandre en Orient* being postponed until a later volume of the edition. One might raise the question, however, whether Eustache's interest was aroused primarily by the Crusades or by the moral conflict theme which, it has been said (page 27) Eustache used "pour animer un poème tout entier construit sur ce sujet."

The final section of the Introduction presents a stanza by stanza, often a line by line analysis of the AdeP FGa to explain on what grounds accretions and excrescences were identified and eliminated in restoring the original Eustache text. The first criterium was "ce que nous savons des thèmes favoris,

des habitudes, des manies et des sources d'AdeP," then the testimony of I², the FGaFlor, the Val Daniel and Gadifer versions. The innumerable delicate decisions have been justified meticulously and brilliantly. The reviewer hereinafter calling attention to certain difficulties and raising questions of a specific and general nature does not wish to question the validity or necessity of the edition.

Branch i 129-130. It is unfortunate, although understandable, that in determining the starting point of the RFGa neither I² nor the FGaFlor could be followed absolutely, and that AdeP apparently had recourse to more than his usual number of sources. In an effort to obtain a logical, streamlined text for Eustache, and to avoid transitional material (which might suggest that the RFGa was not intended to be independent of the RAlix), the editors eliminated the opening phrases of I² and stripped the FGaFlor of its "fioritures de style." It is true that I²'s statement that the siege of Tyre was long and arduous did not "nécessairement" figure in the opening lines since "il se dégage clairement du corps du poème." Yet the trust placed in the FGaFlor as a better guide for details than I² and AdeP seems excessive, particularly when, as was noted, I²'s *maris circumdatione* (*par mer et par terre* in AdeP) appears as *multipliciter*, and when FGaFlor's beginning is admittedly a "paraphrase diffuse." The double reference in AdeP's 129 to Syria's submission points to inferior workmanship, but why conclude that Eustache made no reference at all to Syria, particularly since his source began "Deinde, accepta militia, Syriam est profectus?" The double entry points rather to omission in the FGaFlor, which may well have been concerned primarily with the moral conflict theme, a conclusion supported by the striking fact that the FGaFlor is incomplete. Eustache, interested in the Crusades, might be expected to mention Syria. Paul Meyer, describing the FGaFlor, wrote:² "Ce fragment n'a évidemment aucun intérêt si on se borne à l'examiner en vue de l'utilité qu'on en pourrait tirer pour la critique du texte original. Il n'est pas probable que le traducteur, qui devait vivre au xiv^e siècle et en Italie, ait eu sous les yeux un ms. meilleur que tel ou tel de ceux qui nous sont parvenus." While the editors are in a far stronger position to judge the value of the FGaFlor testimony, Meyer's opinion justifies a considerable degree of caution. Can we be sure that Tholomer did not figure in the RFGa, and that references to Alexander's promise of Tyre to Sanson occur only in AdeP interpolations? The argument that the Sanson passage and the reference to Balés de Tyr should be excluded because these characters appear only later in I² and the FGaFlor (in fact the FGaFlor ends before Balés appears) is hardly impressive.³ It implies a degree of subservience in Eustache that is not borne out by what we know he did to his source—deletions, additions, renaming characters, remotivation, etc. It is worth noting that the reconstituted Eustache order of materials at the beginning is neither that of I² nor that of the FGaFlor (I²: 26.4, .2, .5, 27.3, .4 etc.; FGaFlor 2, 1, 4, 3, 5, 6 etc.). The

2. R. 11 (1882), 325.

3. Cf. p. 42, note 1, where FGaFlor 3 is accepted in spite of the fact that the theme appears only at the end of I².

duplication in 129 necessitated the ingenious explanation that AdeP first wrote part 2 (2678–2688) and later added, possibly in the margin, part 1 (2666–2677). The simpler solution would be to accept part 2 as basically Eustache (with reference to Syria and Sanson, the FGaFlor notwithstanding), and one revision only by AdeP.

The editors encounter little difficulty in eliminating the remaining stanzas of Branch i as the work of AdeP, particularly since he presumably invented freely and used the same sources as Eustache. The summaries might have been fuller, with, for instance, mention of *Alixandres d'Alie* (2889), *Salos de Valmir* (3018), *Ladinés de Monmir* (3019). Of special interest are the comment in footnote 19 that line 2713 (following 2 lines which reflected Eustache) is "plutôt inattendu" and the statement (page 42): "Chose curieuse, chez AdeP les Grecs ne vont plus chercher du bois au Liban (qc iv ii 24), mais dans la forêt de 'Josaphaïlle.'" Likewise in footnote 22: "on ne voit pas trop pourquoi un port méditerranéen a été baptisé 'le port Daniel' par AdeP." Finally, it is noted that i 157 3277–3280 will reappear somewhat inconsistently in ii 81 1889–1895, both passages credited to AdeP who characteristically neglected to erase the first. These unresolved problems lead one to suspect that the FGaFlor may not be an accurate guide to the total content of Eustache's framework for his theme, and that AdeP's inconsistencies are not all gratuitous but rather may have been occasioned by the process of adapting material, however embryonic, already present in his main source—Eustache. Thus the statement concerning ii 1–109 that "AdeP se remet à utiliser le poème d'Eustache, qu'il avait laissé de côté comme source pendant qu'il composait les laisses i 131–157" represents conviction but not certainty.

ii 1. The argument for taking *marage* (N, Q, L, JI, EU) instead of *vers terre* (G, B, V, M, CH) as AdeP's reading is excellent. But why say that certain scribes of α and β independently made the change when the evidence that *vers terre* was the α reading is overwhelming? Is it to protect the reputation of the α family? The only α MSS having *marage* are known to be contaminated. 10–12. Apparently the order of events in P and the FGaFlor is not a decisive factor since these lines are left here rather than summarized in i 129. 17. The identical error in the FGaFlor and AdeP should be discussed, and in line 19 the curious fact that the FGaFlor translation substitutes a Laudinius for Caulus. 23. Why is Samson's claim to Tyre missing from the FGaFlor?

ii 3. This stanza corresponds to FGaFlor 7–8, 10. P 27 4 lacks all detail. Lines 40–41 and 50–51 are eliminated because: "De tout cela le FGaFlor ne souffle mot; pourtant, à cet endroit du récit, le FGaFlor reproduit le contenu du poème d'Eustache avec une fidélité presque servile." This statement may hold for general content, provided AdeP did add 40–41, 50–51, but there are discrepancies. The FGaFlor lacks the detail of 44 "vers les puis de Gibiers" and conversely elaborates "ont veüe la proie" of 45 into "cumque ad locum illum fertilem et copiosum devenissent, boves et oves et animalia multa, circumquaque pascua querentes, invenerunt." In excluding 52–53 "Emenidus d'Arcage est montés tous premiers Et est alés avant a tout cent chevaliers"

the editors state: "De même les vers 52-53, qui manquent eux aussi au FGaFlor, n'ont pu faire partie du RFGa." They make no mention whatever of FGaFlor 9, which reads: "Emenidus vero con comitiva sua predam arripere cupiebat." If we accept the argument, based on grounds of logic and literary taste, that AdeP interpolated this reference to Emenidus (and later that of 63-65) and that "l'endroit le plus favorable" to reintroduce Emenidus is at the beginning of stanza 5, we still need to know what induced the FGaFlor to insert 9 between 8 and 10. We recall that Emenidus was Eustache's invention and that the author gave him "un rôle de premier plan." It would appear that either the FGaFlor's almost servile fidelity did not include details and on occasion general content, or that he was not translating Eustache as reconstituted.

ii 4. The fact that there is no precise parallel in Eustache for FGaFlor 11 and 13 deserves more comment than that "l'auteur du FGaFlor est plus net." We need particularly a discussion of the details in 16 "... quem primum invenit corpus ejus miserabiliter perforavit, alterum humo mortuum prostravit, tertium quoque capite privavit, transiens ultra, coadunatus separans" which can hardly be considered a translation of Eustache 61 "A set des premiers Griens ont tolue la vie."

ii 5-6. In both stanzas the details in Eustache often fail to correspond to those in the FGaFlor. Why does the FGaFlor read Canutus for Lucianor?

ii 7. The summary shows exact correspondance between Eustache and the FGaFlor in order of events and content, yet omits the variant detail which is sufficient to preclude the inference that the FGaFlor is translating either Eustache or, for that matter, AdeP.

ii 8. In this stanza the editors, rejecting as the work of AdeP all but the opening line, substitute the following paragraph for the lost Eustache verses:

Mais bientôt Eménidus aperçoit une immense armée qui descend des collines; très inquiet, il se demande ce qu'il faut faire pour parer à cette menace, car le duc Bétis de Gadres, propriétaire du troupeau razzie, était sorti de sa ville avec trente mille sept cents guerriers et s'était lancé à la poursuite des fourriers.

Why is this necessary and how is it justified? They accept as their guide the FGaFlor 27, 28, 29 and finally I³ 27 7 with FGaFlor 30, adding *armenta propria* from FGaFlor 27. They comment: "Le premier texte (I³) est plutôt squelettique, cependant il permet de se rendre compte que le second (FGaFlor) a conservé les données essentielles du RFGa; à peine si un désir d'embellir et de paraphraser a amené quelques répétitions." Since the editors do not specify what repetitions are at stake, and it is not apparent from their summary, we cite the FGaFlor text:

... quia, antequam modicum longe pertransissent, obviam eis venerunt gentes inique, ut armenta propria iterum ab eis violenter recipere[n]t (27). Cumque vero aliquantulum longius pertransissent, Emenidus, retro respiciens, vidit per montes infinitam et innumerabilem multitudinem gentium descendere, eos acriter persequentem (28). Tunc turbatus est Emenidus, premeditans qualiter

se haberet et quomodo pressuram et pondus tam magne multitudinis gens sua pauca substinere posset (29), quia dux Bethis Gadrensiū contra eos venieba(n)t cum quattuor milia et septicentis pugilibus in armis (30).

It would appear that what has been discounted as paraphrase is "Cumque vero aliquantulum longius pertransissent." Now if we accept the FGaFlor at its face value, there are two groups of pursuers—the first trying to recover the "armenta propria" and then when Emenidus had proceeded "aliquantulum longius" the host from the mountains led by "Bethis Gadrensiū." We would call attention here to the curious fact that in stanza 4 the editors rejected the testimony of the FGaFlor that Oteserie, leader of the herdsmen, was in Gadir where, aroused by the outcries, he gathered a force to protect his livestock. It seems beyond question that the FGaFlor was distinguishing between two groups, that "armenta propria" should be left in its context, and that for the FGaFlor Béthis was coming down from the mountains, not out of the town. Now the editors make the following comment:

Aux vers 111-126 on comprend pourquoi AdeP a si profondément remanié 8: du moment qu'il s'est décidé à identifier Bétis de Gadres à Bétis de Gaza et à ne voir en Gadres qu'une variante de Gaza, il va prétendre que si Bétis rencontre les fourriers au val de Josaphat c'est parce qu'il avait choisi de passer par là pour se rendre à Tyr, où l'appelle son allié le duc Balés."

Does not the FGaFlor support AdeP's version, and not, as has been implied, the version adopted for Eustache? If the FGaFlor is a translation of the RFGa, may not Eustache have made the complete identification? The whole conception of AdeP's rôle hinges on this point. The editors may be correct, but, if so, it would appear that the FGaFlor was influenced by an AdeP version, and hence is an untrustworthy guide to Eustache. We note also a partial acceptance of the FGaFlor in the problem of the number of enemy warriors (I^a 30000, AdeP 30000, FGaFlor 4700, Eustache 30700?). Why should the FGaFlor "echo" the 700 but not the 30000? Why not accept the modest figure of 4700 for Eustache, in which case AdeP got his "round" number from his source I^a or take the "round" number for Eustache and discount the FGaFlor entirely?

ii 9. The editors resort to a summary based on I^a to avoid lines 138-148. Since Eustache is admittedly an inventor of proper names for rhymes, and in this very stanza invents *Mormonde* (not in the FGaFlor!), why claim that *Ane-monde* is an invention of AdeP? It might be noted that the tenor of the eliminated lines reflects the FGaFlor 29 (cf. *poi a gent with gens sua pauca*).

ii 9-14. The "remarque générale" shows the FGaFlor to be in complete accord as to names and order of appeals, but it is far from having copied the dialogues. It is further noted: "Pourtant, à partir de la requête adressée à Lioine (11, FGaFlor 36-37), l'auteur se met subitement à résumer fortement ce que lui fournissait son modèle; il en sera ainsi dans les passages consacrés à Perdicas, à Caulus et à Aristé (12-14, FGaFlor 38-39), mais après cela il reprend sa paraphrase." Two points should be emphasized. There has already been considerable evidence of the FGaFlor's unreliability in details, and signs

of abridgement. Here the process of condensation is carried so far that stanzas 13 and 14 are reduced to "quod quidem fecerunt Caulus et Aristes." Now stanzas 15 and 16 do not appear in the FGaFlor at all, yet the editors do not suggest that the FGaFlor may have omitted them, but argue that they are AdeP interpolations. As to details, it is noteworthy that Eustache introduced the *-onde* rhyme in 9 and the *-ote* rhyme in 10, neither of which appears elsewhere in the RAlIx. The editors attribute lines 160-162 to AdeP on the theory that he was tempted to emulate the *-ote* rhymes and ask: "Comment expliquer autrement l'existence de vers aussi médiocres que 160-162?" The reviewer would suspect Eustache, the inventor of the rhyme, known to have varied the endings of proper names to suit his needs. Furthermore he would accept stanzas 15 and 16 as particularly characteristic. The *-aille* rhyme surely is not out of keeping with the *-onde* and *-ote* inventions. The stanzas are short and have precisely the same tone as 9 and 10. Finally, it should be noted that when "l'auteur du FGaFlor reprend sa paraphrase" in ii 17 (FGaFlor 40-41), he is far from translating either Eustache or AdeP, but is indulging in an elaborate metaphor of his own.

The case for rejecting 18 is strong; less strong is the case against 19, but it was probably noted that were not 19 eliminated there would occur a succession of two stanzas in *-on*. The editors stress FGaFlor's "grande fidélité" in 20. However this fidelity is in part achieved by ruling out elements not in the FGaFlor, while discounting elements there present. The FGaFlor's "Ex obliquo enim respiciens, Emenidus vidit militem sub arbore" reflects lines 311-312 of the rejected stanza 18 more closely than lines 392-393. The argument that the FGaFlor 44 guarantees the authenticity of *Alier* in Eustache, in spite of the fact that *Alier* is conspicuously absent from the FGaFlor, is unconvincing. However, the FGaFlor often omits Eustache's rhyme inventions.

Instead of rejecting 21 (absent from the FGaFlor) on literary grounds applicable to Eustache as well as to AdeP, the reviewer would accept it because of the "virtuosité de versificateur," because the *-estre* rhyme does not appear elsewhere in the RAlIx, the stanza is short and in the Eustache pattern. The statement that AdeP borrowed "de Valestre" from ii 47 1073, when Eustache has it in the very first line of 22, is significant. Coupled with the statement in note 8, page 66 that Eustache does not assign Aridé a place of origin until ii 47, it becomes clear that at one time the editors had rejected 22, but later accepted it, failing to remove the unneeded references. To say that in this stanza (22): "Le FGaFlor (FGaFlor 45) n'est ici d'aucun secours . . ." is putting the case mildly. First, its testimony seriously damages the case for the FGaFlor's reliability, not so much because Aridé becomes Aristé but because it invents a version eliminating the turning point of the plot. Secondly it prevents the editors from arguing that Eustache, following I³, has Aridé consent to carry the message only when the progress of the battle has made the situation desperate. Had the FGaFlor omitted the stanza entirely, the present anticlimactic version could have been attributed to AdeP rather than to Eustache. It is indicative of the editors' opinion of the FGaFlor that they, at least for a time,

were tempted to do so. Since Eustache must be credited with the "rime chevillée" *Baiart de Tyr*, that of the next line *Ladins de Mommir* might well be his also, in spite of AdeP's use of the name *Ladins*.

The FGaFlor continues to make difficulty. In 23 absence of any confirmatory material in the FGaFlor was not considered by itself sufficient reason to eliminate 497-499, so the FGaFlor is abridging. In 24 the FGaFlor 48, which has no counterpart in AdeP, is accepted for Eustache, although the FGaFlor details in 47 were not accepted in lieu of AdeP's. Like situations occur in 25 and 27. In 28 FGaFlor's *Camutus for Corineus* may possibly be explained as a "faute de lecture," however, we recall his reading *canutus* for *Lucianor* in 6. We note that the one "fugitive apparition" of Corineus is accepted for Eustache, although in 21 objection was raised to the inclusion of Aride's cousin on the grounds that he does not reappear. Antigonus of 29 appears but once. We note also that the editors are forced to accept the horse theme (568) although it is absent from the FGaFlor, and in spite of the fact similar passages have been regularly eliminated as AdeP's. In 29 the editors reverse their procedure, here rejecting the FGaFlor in favor of AdeP. Having eliminated 16, and wishing to prove that Antigonus was in Eustache an unimportant character, they prefer to have him fight an Arab (AdeP) than a "Capitaneus Gadrensius" (FGaFlor). In 30 the FGaFlor lacks Eustache's rhyme invention *Godouain*. In 31 the FGaFlor introduces *Leone* in order to prepare a metaphor "faususement poétique" and obviously distorts the stanza. Yet in the FGaFlor's final stanza (32) the editors insist that the "auteur" or "rédacteur" is translating. Thus we read: "Or le FGaFlor se termine par une traduction du vers 649 . . ." Actually it renders "Et fiert un duc de Perse, niés estoit Murgafier" by "obviavit cuidam Turco."

Enough evidence has been marshalled to indicate clearly that this late Latin version can hardly be considered a translation of the RFGa as reconstituted. We need not only a full accounting for the FGaFlor's vagaries, but also more consideration given to the implications of its omissions and abridgements, which convince this reviewer that it cannot be used as a sure guide to the total content of the lost Eustache.

Admittedly for the rest of the RFGa, since the FGaFlor has ended, we lack "un moyen de contrôle qui s'était montré particulièrement précieux." Hereafter passages deficient in literary quality, which delay the action, which can be excluded "sans heurt," lines which unnecessarily embellish, echo, or paraphrase, are attributed to AdeP. The standard set is high. Thus line 738 (*Mais de vengier son cors nus d'aus ne se delaie*) is excised because it expresses "sous une autre forme l'idée contenue dans 34 732" (*Qu'il nes tenront hui mais de ferir por enfans*). As parts of stanzas are eliminated, the whole becomes implicated; as one stanza goes out, others automatically appear illogical. Thus 35-37 are rejected as a unit, although the case against the first two is very slight. In 37, because of the obvious parallel with 26 (also out), AdeP is shown to be imitating himself—an odd solution since AdeP might be expected to be imitating Eustache; it is quite revealing that on page 65 the editors refer back to

"Eustache (ii 37 768)," which suggests that at one stage of the reconstitution this stanza was acceptable. In 39 the editors are justified in calling Corineus a character "de second plan" by virtue of the exclusion of 18 and 39. Many other similar examples could be cited.

To find a solution to the intricate problem of how and where the Eustache poem ended, the editors resort again to I³, reminding the reader that "En analysant le RFGa, nous avons souvent été à même de constater qu'Eustache a étoffé et embelli le récit sec et prosaïque de son modèle, mais nous avons vu aussi qu'il n'était pas sorti du cadre que I³ lui avait tracé." How can we be sure that Eustache made this neat distinction and never left the framework of I³? The statement for ii 77-79 that "D'après le RFGa, Alexandre retourne directement du val de Josaphat à Tyr, mais AdeP ne peut résister à la tentation de compliquer la situation" might have been put more guardedly, for these stanzas, which could not be dismissed in their entirety, have had to be summarized so as to exclude the pursuit of Bétis to Gadres. In the block 80-84, Eustache has been limited to I³ plus details common to Lamprecht and AdeP, which has the effect of excluding Quintus Curtius known to be a source for Eustache as well as for AdeP. Thus, although in Quintus Curtius, the Greek fleet is brought up to blockade Tyr, as in 81, and AdeP repeats himself on the point since he had Alexander summon it in i 157, the editors can still maintain that there was no mention of this in the RFGa. In 82-83 details from Quintus Curtius are excluded by use of a summary, yet in the final stanza lines 1954-1956 have to be allowed as an invention of Eustache, although unauthorized by I³. For the final block of stanzas 85-109 much has been clearly identified as the work of AdeP, yet for some passages there may have been an Eustache basis. Here again occurs as explanation for the "solutions de continuité" the argument that AdeP revised himself using new sources. This may be so; yet one suspects that we have here a device to avoid the simpler answer—a RFGa source.

The editors were faced with the awkward fact that the three main sources of information were frequently in disagreement. Had they belonged to the one-best-manuscript school of text editing, they would have left Eustache in peace, with a resultant loss of important discoveries. However, having accumulated considerable specific information about the RAlx as a whole, being intimately acquainted with the individual traits of the MSS, they properly attempted an "essai d'établissement." The queries raised above do not prove them to have been wrong in any detail. Much pertinent data on sources, dating, and relationship to other parts of the RAlx, have yet to be published. However, the use of AdeP's known weaknesses as a major criterium, an unavoidable choice, may have led automatically to an enhancement of Eustache's virtues not fully justified by the available evidence.

Volume v presents the Variants and Notes to Branch ii of AdeP's version of the RAlx (see Volume ii for text) with a 150 page Introduction by Professor Agard on the evolution of the *Fuerre de Gadres* subsequent to Alexandre de Paris. Professor Agard provides a text with critical apparatus for the β

version of the FGa, demonstrates convincingly that it reproduces an earlier "Gadifer Version" evolving from AdeP and circulating separately, and proves conclusively that the α version drew upon the "Gadifer." The highly complex problem has been resolved with careful attention to every pertinent detail—a fine example of determined and rewarding scholarship. The picture thus provided of the Gadifer amplification of the foray theme affords a close parallel to the earlier efforts of AdeP; the additions by the α and β families, and in turn of their derivatives, complete the story of progressive deterioration.

To save space, choice was exercised in listing variants. MS readings of sufficient interest to appear in the Notes are often absent from the variants themselves. Rather frequently MSS are cited which keep the text reading, which is sometimes convenient, sometimes disconcerting since it suggests error. Excellent notes explain most departures from the norm, and if not, the reasons for overruling MS testimony are generally apparent—such as the salvaging of a *lectio difficilior*, or the removal of a blemish—a practice that calls for caution, particularly at this stage of the RAlx.

The Variants and Notes to Br. ii provide for the first time the materials for a detailed analysis of the method followed in establishing the Alexandre de Paris text. However, this study might be postponed until controls for the other branches appear. The list of errata makes it evident that there has occurred some change in viewpoint since the publication of Volume II, such as a less rigid use of the basic MS. Inconsistencies are observable which indicate that in final analysis the editors exercised independent judgment. An essay by the editors on this subject would be welcome.

The recording has been done with care.⁴ However, the promise (page 150) to record fully the variants of MSS B, N and V may have been lost sight of, since a check with the B text shows many omissions of individual variants of real interest, and several instances where B is not listed with the other MSS having its variant. The lexicographical contribution of the Notes is sizable. Fortunately the editors have not limited their discussion to obsolete words, special meanings and forms, but have recorded the RAlx support for words heretofore only meagerly attested. It is to be hoped that the final volume will give as complete a vocabulary as time and money permit.

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La Nativité et le Jeu des Trois Roys, Two Plays from Manuscript 1131 of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. By Ruth Whittredge. Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. 1944. Pp. 217.

Le manuscrit 1131 de la Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève est fameux parce qu'il contient, entre autres, quatre mystères dont l'ensemble constitue le premier cycle de la *Passion* auquel Arnoul Gréban devait donner vers 1450 sa

4. About 45 misprints in Volume V, and 15 in Volume IV, were noted.

forme en quelque sorte définitive. Depuis sa publication par Achille Jubéna, il y a quelque cent ans (1837) sous le titre de *Mystères inédits du quinzième siècle*, il s'est fait bien des recherches et des découvertes dans tous les domaines de l'histoire du moyen âge, linguistique, littéraire et dramatique. Une réédition s'impose. C'est ce qui a déterminé Miss Whittredge à publier deux de ces pièces. Dans son introduction, l'auteur remarque que contrairement à l'opinion courante, la *Passion* ne semble pas s'adapter aux autres pièces du cycle, la *Nativité*, les *Trois Roys* et *Résurrection*, du moins dans sa forme actuelle. D'ailleurs, elle est plus développée, elle indique un sens du théâtre plus averti que les autres pièces, donc une composition plus tardive. Cette observation est importante. Dans la formation du cycle, la partie centrale, la *Passion* proprement dite n'a pu être abordée et développée que bien longtemps après les autres. Le caractère sacré du Christ et de ses souffrances s'opposait à ce qu'il fût ainsi représenté familièrement par des acteurs qui dans la vie privée n'étaient pas toujours très recommandables. Ce sentiment de révérence qui s'émousse dans les siècles de décadence du moyen âge (quatorzième et quinzième) reparaitra au seizième siècle et ne sera pas sans influence sur la suppression des mystères. Miss Whittredge est d'accord que ces mystères sont probablement ceux que jouaient les Frères en 1398 quand le Prévôt des Marchands de Paris prononça sa célèbre interdiction. Ils appartiennent bien à cette période 1350-1420 (page 25) dans leur présente rédaction et je ne vois aucune raison pour leur assigner une date plus ancienne comme Miss Whittredge semble le faire (page 25, page 82) pour des raisons linguistiques. Les survivances et les archaïsmes de la déclinaison qu'elle mentionne sont ceux qui sont communs aux poètes de la région de Paris, tel Eustache Deschamps, 1345-1405. Par exemple, l'emploi de la désinence casuelle *s* à la rime n'est pas très probant. On le trouve encore assez fréquemment chez Gréban. Par contre, les rimes varlet: souloit, esmay: moy, delay: loy (page 84) sont frappantes. Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, I, 406, n'en a pas trouvé de semblables avant le milieu du quinzième siècle. Leur présence dans ces pièces mériterait d'être discutée.

En ce qui a trait aux commentaires de Miss Whittredge sur la doctrine et la tradition religieuse dans ces mystères, j'ai été surpris de lire (page 34) que "the author (of the *mystères*) is strongly imbued with certain medieval theological ideas, notably the idea of the atonement made necessary by man's sin and the goodness of God in providing the Redemption." En un mot, Miss Whittredge, sans s'en douter évidemment, remarque que l'auteur de ces mystères était chrétien. On aurait pu s'y attendre. Ce ne sont pas là, en effet, des idées médiévales; c'est la pure doctrine du Christianisme, telle qu'elle apparaît dans Saint Paul, Saint Augustin, Luther, Calvin, Bossuet, etc. De même (page 48), on nous dit que "certain legends found in the apocryphs were never accepted as church doctrine." Cette phrase est ambiguë. En principe, les apocryphes n'ont rien fourni à la doctrine chrétienne. Si, par exemple, l'Assomption de la Vierge qui paraît en effet dans les apocryphes a été admise, c'est uniquement que l'Eglise l'a considérée comme très probable et que la tradition en est relativement ancienne. Par contre, j'aurais aimé quelques commen-

taires sur le fait que Dieu le Père, dans les *Trois Roys*, appelle Marie "ma mère" (vers 888 ss.).

Etant donné que l'allusion la plus ancienne à une société de joueurs de la Passion est de 1380, on pourrait à cet égard mentionner la glose d'Oresme sur le passage du *Livre des Ethiques* d'Aristote qui est de 1370 où le philosophe parle des comédies: "Il (Aristote) entent ici par comedies aucuns gieux, comme ceulx ou .l. homme représente Saint Pol, l'autre Judas, l'autre un hermite et dit chascun son personnage et en ont aucuns roulles et rimes," passage qui, entre parenthèses, est le plus ancien que je connaisse où perçoit clairement l'idée d'une analogie entre les représentations médiévales et le théâtre antique. Un humaniste aussi averti que Flavio Biondo, mort en 1463, ne semble pas encore s'en douter. En ce qui concerne la tragédie, d'ailleurs, la glose d'Oresme se conforme à l'idée ordinaire qu'en a l'époque: Les tragédies "sont ditiez, comme rommans qui parlent et traictent de aucuns faiz notables" (*Le Livres des Ethiques* d'Aristote, iv, 25, page 271; i, 17, page 137. New York, 1940). Aucune des rares allusions antérieures à une analogie possible entre les pièces de l'antiquité et les "jeux" ou *ludi* contemporains n'est probante. Mais cette question est englobée dans une autre plus large dont la discussion dépasserait de beaucoup les limites d'un compte-rendu et qui devra faire l'objet d'un travail ultérieur.

Dans l'ensemble, édition méritoire et utile. L'introduction ne néglige aucun des problèmes auxquels donnent lieu ces deux mystères. Il faut espérer que Madam Frank trouvera bientôt une autre bonne candidate au doctorat pour nous donner la *Passion* et la *Résurrection* et compléter ainsi la publication du premier cycle d'un genre appelé à une si grande fortune.

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Le Secrê de Secrez by Pierre d'Abernun of Fetcham from the Unique Manuscript B.N. f.fr. 25407. Edited by Oliver A. Beckerlegge, M.A., Ph.D. Oxford, Published for the Anglo-Norman Text Society (Anglo-Norman Texts, v) by Basil Blackwell, 1944. Pp. lviii+94.

The Secret of Secrets owed its great popularity in the Middle Ages to its supposed association with Alexander and Aristotle, as well as to its encyclopedic contents. Originally an Arabic work of the time of Charlemagne—possibly with Syriac or Greek predecessors—it was translated into Latin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and, from the later thirteenth century on, into several vernaculars. It served as source or model for a number of didactic works in similar vein.

The latest volume of the Anglo-Norman Text Society provides a critical edition of what may be the earliest vernacular version of *The Secret of Secrets*—an Anglo-Norman poem by Pierre d'Abernun, composed in the late thirteenth century and surviving in a single manuscript. Pierre seems to have been a faithful translator, though often at the expense of poetic virtue. His language

and versification confirm what has been thus far established for Anglo-Norman of his period.

The editor has made his investigations and analyses very carefully. He clearly enjoyed the task he set himself of trying to determine from which town Pierre came. The translator has long been known either as Pierre d'Abernun or as Peter of Peckham. D'Abernun appears to be in this case a patronymic and connects Pierre with a Norman family established in England. But there is strong evidence for Fetcham in preference to Peckham as the town of his origin. Dr. Beckerlegge evidently favors Fetcham, since he uses it on the title-page, but in concluding his discussion of the evidence he says (page xvi): "Pending further discoveries, therefore, the question of Pierre's name must be undecided."

In studying the text-history of the work the editor is the first to admit his debt to the late Robert Steele's investigation of this subject published in two editions: Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees of old Philisoffres* (E.E.T.S., 1894) and Roger Bacon's *Secretum Secretorum* (Oxford, 1920). Curiously, he twice misquotes the title of the former work and twice seems to criticize the prolegomena of the latter for omitting certain discussions of manuscripts, although such discussion is to be found in the earlier study. Dr. Beckerlegge has some information to add to Steele's survey of manuscripts. The indiscriminate use, in this Anglo-Norman edition, of the abbreviation S.S. to designate the medieval work in whatever language is confusing. One misses some reference to Sarton in the survey of the text-history (even though Sarton's remarks are based to some extent on Steele) and to the *Catalogue général* in the description of the manuscript. Långfors' *Incipits* would have supplied some further information for the Sybilline piece mentioned on page xxxvi.

The editor has examined the arrangement of the manuscript and the characteristics of the writing with care. To accompany his description, in the absence of a plate, we should have welcomed the statement of a palaeographer regarding the date of the script. Conflicting judgments are quoted, without any identification of authority, and it is only under the subsequent discussion of the language that the editor commits himself to the opinion: "the MS. is not very much younger than the poem itself," after he has described the language as being of "the late XIII century." In some of his remarks he does not take into account the fact that the scribe and the rubricator may not be the same person. He observed a distinction in the York manuscript of the *Lumière as Lais* which is worth noting: the non-professional scribe of this manuscript, believed to be Pierre himself, differentiates between *i* and *j*, and uses *w* and *y* frequently, whereas the copyist of the *Secré* manuscript (B.N.fr. 25407), who seems to have been a scribe by profession, follows more closely the spelling habits of Latin (page xxxvii).

Since there is corroborative evidence for placing the language in southeastern England in the late thirteenth century, the editor's careful analysis of its characteristics can serve as a guide to placing other Anglo-Norman manuscripts of which less may be known. The typography of headings in his discussion of the

language unfortunately obscures some of the divisions. In analysis of Anglo-Norman works, the influence of English would seem to call for more special attention than the regular features of Anglo-Norman. Yet in this introduction a group of Pierre's anglicisms selected for summary comment is sandwiched in between *Change of Gender* and *Subjunctive* under a general heading "Morphology," while Kentish spelling traits are mentioned several pages earlier in the remarks introducing the section on language, and comment on a possible anglicism occurs in the critical notes which follow the text. Might not the examples of the use of the conditional to express habit (page liii) be linked to English idiom? One expects a comment on conjunctions (e.g. lines 30, 346) in the discussion of language, in preference to the translation in the notes of line 30 which seems to offer perfectly good English colloquial word order.

The manuscript is transcribed substantially as it stands. The correction of *a* to *e* suggested in the note to line 831 is desirable and is supported by the need of a like correction in line 583. Since *saciez* occurs about twice as often as *satiez*, we probably have a vagary of script rather than of orthography (page lvi and note 4) in the interchange of *ci* and *ti* throughout the manuscript in this and other words. Medieval scribes frequently did not distinguish between *c* and *t*, even when the letter was not followed by *i*: the variant use is found for a long period, over a wide area, in both French and Latin manuscripts. The editor makes no comment on *sutifté* for *sutilté* (line 46), presumably because a spelling practice is not involved—or is this a modern typographical error?

The critical notes include discussion of doubtful or remarkable forms, meanings and constructions, together with translation of a number of passages. The editor does Pierre an injustice in suggesting that he misunderstood the Latin corresponding to lines 1010–1013 (note, page 71); when allowance is made for Pierre's composing a statement in two couplets instead of a command in five words, the interpretation seems quite satisfactory. *Estudie* may be unhesitatingly interpreted as "school" (line 1159 and note, page 73). Examples of this sense for the Latin word *studium* abound—it is even found at the end of the twelfth century—and there is no reason to doubt that the French cognate was used in the same way. The proximity of *universitez* (line 1158) confirms this, while the line *En les arz e en morautez* (line 1164) reproduces the expression *studia artium et moralium* current in university documents and in archives of the Friars. The editor's reading in line 2033, since it duplicates an idiomatic word order in line 786, is preferable to interpreting *.i.* in the middle of this line as *id est* (suggested in the notes on the basis of the unmistakable gloss to line 1782), especially since there seems to be no other example of an interpolated gloss in mid-line.

Considering the difficulties of wartime publishing, the typographical errors in this volume are remarkably few. In the circumstances it is perhaps carping to remark that the stated principles of selection do not seem to have been consistently followed in the glossary, while the editor's claim that the references are complete would be rash for any mortal in any circumstances. Some inconsistencies in the introduction might have been removed, however, and the cor-

rection of numerous infelicities of style would have notably clarified the editor's meaning.

Anglo-Norman literature represents a unique phenomenon in the history of western culture. A definitive study of its development and significance cannot be made until a great deal of unpublished material is made available. Every work to which a definite date and place can be assigned gives us that much more help in locating the "unknowns." By analyzing another such work, Dr. Beck-erlegge has made a welcome contribution to Anglo-Norman studies in both the literary and the linguistic fields.

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Œuvres de Charles-Michel Campion, poète marseillais du dix-huitième siècle.

Publiées par Edward D. Seeber et Henry H. H. Remak. Bloomington, Indiana (Indiana University Publications, Humanities Series), 1945. Pp. 300.

A premature death in 1784, at the age of 50, is probably what prevented Charles-Michel Campion, Marseille financier, active member of his local academies and enthusiastic amateur practitioner of both engraving and poetry, from publishing his poetic productions. It is the manuscript collection of these poetic works, adorned with the author's own engravings, that is now issued for the first time. The poetic baggage presented is varied. It includes a "Voyage d'Italie," in the mixture of prose and verse made fashionable by Chapelle and Bachaumont, ten *poèmes divers* (several of these are insignificant occasional poems, but there is also a *conte en vers*, "Le Cercle et l'Ovale," which is not without wit), and finally a number of longer poems: a didactic descriptive poem "Le Loiret, ou la Peinture en paysage," two translations from the English (Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" and Percy's "Hermit of Northumberland"), and "L'Horloge détruite," a narrative poem dealing with happenings at Marseille and filled with local allusions. This last is a not unskillful effort in the mock-heroic vein; it gives evidence of diligent study of "Le Lutrin," "The Rape of the Lock," and "La Pucelle." The poems are preceded by individual *notices*, and they are meticulously annotated. The volume is introduced by a study of Campion and his work, in which the editors have painstakingly pieced together an account of his life based upon all-too-meager facts, after which they have given a brief analysis of the author's ideas.

To a student of the French eighteenth century a person such as Charles-Michel Campion is of considerable potential interest as a provincial financier who was at the same time a cultured gentleman and a dabbler in both art and poetry. Since the materials upon which the editors could draw for information upon his life were *éloges* of one sort or another, they are able to furnish little beyond the ordinary generalities. Born in Marseille, a member of the newly-organized Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture de Marseille at the age of twenty, a member of the Académie des Belles-Lettres de Marseille in 1760,

and later its director, successively *directeur* or *contrôleur* of *fermes* at Antibes (1757-1765), Orléans (1765-1776) and finally Marseille (1777-1784), platonic worshiper of a noble lady to whom he dedicated a number of his poems: such was Campion, as his biographers present him to us. Unfortunately, one who expects to find colorful autobiographical details of racy and original personal ideas by examining Campion's poems is doomed to disappointment. Even the necessarily autobiographical "*Voyage d'Italie*" is unsatisfactory in this respect. In telling of his trip from Antibes over the Col de Tende, through Turin and Genoa, then back to Antibes by sea, the young financier-poet cannot avoid a few realistic descriptions and a few personal observations, but he is so docile a slave to the tradition of (supposedly) graceful artificiality and of triviality established by the *voyages* of Chapelle and Bachaumont and of Lefranc de Pompignan that he is natural and simple only occasionally. In spite of that, an historian, interested in the geography and the history of the Comté de Nice and of Piedmont of that epoch would find useful information in this "*Voyage*." In analyzing Campion's ideas, MM. Seeber and Remak have to confess that he appears to be merely a conventional man of the late eighteenth century: "voltairien dans son aversion pour la bigoterie et le mensonge et dans sa croyance au progrès et à la liberté, rousseauiste par sa haine du luxe et de l'oppression et par son amour de la nature . . ."¹

Let us not suggest, however, that because the editors were unable to provide a well-rounded picture of Campion as an individual, and because his works reveal little personality, this publication is of small interest except as an example of careful, scholarly editing. There is in the volume material to attract both the historian of Campion's period and the student of the history of French poetry, and the editors deserve gratitude for having made it available. Both the "*Voyage d'Italie*" and "*L'Horloge détruite*" contain many curious and significant details for the historian of French provincial life in the late eighteenth century. In addition, the case of Campion as a poet, the nature and the quality of his poetry, present interesting problems to the student of the variations in French poetic taste.

It has often been said, of eighteenth-century poetry in France: "Never were there so many versifiers, never so little real poetry." Campion would seem to offer curious confirmation of this. Here we have a respectable financier who was the rankest amateur in poetry and yet, in our day, to a reader with a knowledge of French poetry, certain of Campion's efforts seem in no way inferior to the productions of contemporaries who were famous in their time. To say that Campion's "*Le Loiret*" does not suffer in comparison with poems on similar subjects by Watelet and Lemierre should be in no way surprising: Watelet and Lemierre were never regarded as first-rate poets. If, however, one compares Campion's poem to one written some years later, "*Les Jardins*" of Delille, probably the best descriptive poem of the century, the inferiority of Campion is not as evident as one would expect. To be sure, certain famous purple passages in "*Les Jardins*" are superior to anything in "*Le Loiret*," but extensive

1. Page 27.

parts of the two poems are similar in quality. There is the same trite, almost perfunctory, proficiency in versification—rolling, harmonious, monotonous alexandrines—the same laborious didacticism, the same timidity in making use of description in the “genre descriptif.” The good qualities are also similar: not unskillful use of the resources of *harmonie imitative*, occasional evidences of the dawning of pre-Romantic sensibility. An examination of the poems of Campion leaves one with the feeling that in his period the language of French poetry had become so stereotyped that any moderately cultivated and moderately talented individual could, by a thorough study of the right models—Boileau, J.-B. Rousseau, Voltaire, and the French didactic poets of the middle of the eighteenth century—produce poetry that would reach the same level of harmonious mediocrity.

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The Life and Novels of Léon Gozlan: A Representative of Literary Cross Currents in the Generation of Balzac. By Martha Katherine Loder. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1943. Pp. 101.

Race, milieu, and moment combine to make of Léon Gozlan a rather more grateful figure than the usual subject of an academic biography. This dynamic Catholic Jew first opened his eyes in the vivid light of the Midi which makes Van Gogh's landscapes quiver, he grew up in an atmosphere charged with the Bonapartism which produced such a marked effect on Henri Beyle, and he lived his mature life among that *génération surexcitée* which instituted high romanticism in France. Luckier than Vigny, whose fate it was to “rot” in barracks in the Pyrenees, Gozlan had his moment of adventure as a freebooter in African waters. Toward the end of the Restoration Léon Gozlan set out for Paris armed with the inevitable sheaf of bad verses. Introduced by his compatriot, Joseph Méry, this French Texan, who called himself “l'ancien pirate,” soon became an accepted member of journalistic and literary circles. Miss Loder cites some forty names of authors, many well known and some forgotten, with whom Gozlan associated. It appears that during the glorious July Revolution he attacked the forces of oppression with a pen in the columns of *Le Figaro* rather than with a musket on the barricades. During the reign of the Bourgeois King this crude practitioner of Voltairean irony struck out against both political and literary foes in a way to satisfy the editor of *Le Figaro*, Nestor Roqueplan, who had greeted him, on his joining the staff, with this *boutade*: “. . . mon cher, on n'entre ici qu'avec une haine. Si vous n'en avez point, empruntez-en-une!” One may judge of the effect of his thrusts by this reaction from a thoroughly aroused Balzac: “Ce Léon Gozlan m'est insupportable! A chaque nouvel ouvrage que je publie, il le dépèce par basse jalousie, et le dévore comme un chacal dévore une biche.” Although journalism was to him a most congenial form of expression, Gozlan had higher literary ambitions. Having failed as a poet, he turned to short stories, plays, and the novel in an

effort to scale Parnassus. His success in this undertaking may be measured by the numerous editions of certain of his works and by the translations of a few. Until the end, in 1866, though somewhat saddened by the realization that his works were no more durable than his body, he kept pouring out a steady stream of salable writing, sustained by the recognition of his contemporaries, who made him vice president of the Société des Gens de Lettres, chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur, and president of the Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques.

Miss Loder sketches these various aspects of Gozlan's career, but it is obvious that the thirty pages which constitute the biographical half of this slender doctoral dissertation provide little room to develop the interesting possibilities of a writer who "reflects the varied aspects of the spirit of his age." The only writer whose relations with Gozlan are examined is Balzac. Enough evidence is perhaps adduced to suggest that after the early hostility which marked their relationship Gozlan and Balzac reached at least a *modus vivendi*. The two biographical sketches which Gozlan wrote about Balzac, *Balzac en pantoufles* and *Balzac chez lui*, respectful as they are in tone, do not reveal any particular spiritual intimacy between the two men. And it is a doubtful honor for Gozlan to have been eternalized by serving as a model for the brazen journalist Raoul Nathan, in Balzac's *Une Fille d'Eve* and *Les Illusions perdues*. The height of Balzac's cordiality is marked by this morsel tossed to his satellite on the dedicatory page of *Une autre étude de femme*: "dédié à Léon Gozlan comme témoignage de bonne confraternité littéraire." The inference is that after an early attempt to rival Balzac in the field of the realistic social novel Gozlan apparently resigned himself to playing a lesser rôle to Balzac's lead. And Balzac was on his side sufficiently publicity-minded to accept the homage of his admirer and to overlook the earlier gibes. But it is to be doubted whether this relationship constitutes, as Miss Loder affirms, a friendship.

In the critical half of her study the author limits herself to a consideration of the sixteen works which comprise Gozlan's total novelistic output, pointing out that this is where Gozlan's literary reputation primarily rests. Here again the author essays the impossible in confining to forty-five pages the study of Gozlan "in his multiple relationship to the literary cross currents of his day." She does touch upon the subjects of greatest interest and importance: the conflicting romantic and realistic trends of the time, the constant shifts in literary taste, and the fashion of the *roman-feuilleton*. Miss Loder quite properly calls Gozlan "a literary opportunist" who "danced attendance upon any literary group which appeared to have won popularity." *Le Notaire de Chantilly* and *Le Médecin du Pecq* are unsuccessful imitations of Balzac. The most popular of Gozlan's *romans-feuilletons*, written on the Dumas-Soulié-Sue pattern, was *Les Nuits du Père Lachaise*, which was reprinted twenty-three times and was translated into Italian and Danish. The most original of his novels, the ones which best display his dramatic inventiveness, his satirical insight, and his witty and vigorous style, are *Aristide Froissart*, aptly called by Hippolyte Babou "la vigoureuse et paradoxale débauche d'un esprit hardi, aventureux," and *Les*

Emotions de Polydore Marasquin, which makes good reading even today. When it comes to describing the essence of Gozlan's literary personality, Miss Loder's touch is not always sure: "He was primarily a story-teller, a journalist endowed with a keen mind and a sense of humor. Gozlan was not a profound thinker, but he possessed the gift of weaving a narrative from bits of information gleaned from his associations with people." And Miss Loder remains throughout too much in the debt of previous critics. Her critical method, too, suffers from being discursive rather than analytical; her conclusions are therefore not so much wrong as unconvincing. In my opinion it is regrettable also that only Gozlan's novels are considered in this work. It would appear essential, if Gozlan is to be studied as a mirror of his times, that the entire surface of the mirror be scrutinized. One finds in Harold March's masterly study of the whole body of Frédéric Soulié's work a perfect example of a complete and satisfying chapter in the literary history of this same period. Gozlan does not have quite the stature of Soulié, but his deserts are greater than those which Miss Loder, despite her obvious sympathy and conscientious workmanship, has been able to grant him.

THEODORE ANDERSSON

Wells College

Charles Baudelaire: *Mon cœur mis à nu. Fusées. Choix de Maximes Consolantes sur l'amour*. Edités par M. Mespoulet. Editions Quetzal, Mexico, D. F., 1945. Pp. 155.

Après celles de Van Bever et de Crépet, voici une édition nouvelle des *Journaux intimes*, augmentée des *Maximes consolantes sur l'amour*.

A travers ces esquisses et ces schémas qui s'échelonnent de 1855 à 1866 environ, et qui font alterner les cris de révolte avec les déclarations de principe, il est difficile et sans doute illusoire de chercher à discerner une évolution des goûts et des dégoûts de Baudelaire; mais on peut essayer d'en pénétrer l'ordre caché, et l'unité profonde. C'est à quoi s'efforce Mlle Mespoulet dans sa remarquable préface: à cette entreprise la préparait son intime familiarité avec l'œuvre baudelairienne, qui lui permet de "situer" chacune de ces pensées éparses, d'en retrouver l'écho ou le prolongement dans les poèmes, les essais, ou la correspondance.

Ce qui éclate à la lecture des *Journaux intimes*, c'est la "primauté du spirituel" chez Baudelaire; il convient donc que le commentateur laisse ici de côté les antécédents physiologiques et les accidents de la biographie pour s'attacher à l'essentiel—à l'âme. Ce qui respire dans ces notes brèves et frémissantes, c'est la noblesse d'un esprit altéré d'absolu; c'est la tendresse d'un cœur amer, mais qui connaît la vertu de la souffrance. Cette essence aristocratique, conservée pure en dépit des défaillances de la vie, c'est de là qu'il faut partir pour entrer dans l'intelligence de Baudelaire; c'est de ce centre que rayonnent ses idées religieuses, esthétiques, politiques; par là s'explique sa conception du mal, de la beauté, de l'amour; par là s'éclairent les secrets de son alchimie poétique;

par là se justifient ses rancunes, et ses colères. Même ses affectations apparentes révèlent leur raison d'être: son dandysme est une véritable religion du mépris; et son style ne se fait cravachant que pour fouailler toutes les impiétés et les abjections contemporaines. Quant à ses prophéties hautaines, il faut bien reconnaître que notre monde présent les réalise sur plus d'un point; et que

. . . les vastes éclairs de son esprit lucide

ont illuminé l'avenir.

Quel eût été l'agencement final et l'architecture de ces fragments intimes? Mlle Mespoulet, qui pose la question, n'a pas la témérité d'y répondre; du moins a-t-elle clairement montré qu'ils sont des éléments essentiels pour la biographie spirituelle d'un génie qui chercha dans la franchise absolue "un moyen d'originalité." On pourra juger que, dans sa ferveur intransigeante à l'égard du poète, elle a sous-estimé les influences qu'elle indique au passage; et qu'elle a fait trop bon marché d'études de sources, qu'elle connaît sans daigner les citer. Sans doute répondra-t-elle que les emprunts et les souvenirs sont moins importants que l'esprit qui les sublime. Au surplus, le petit nombre de notes et de références ne doit pas faire illusion: cette discrétion volontaire cache l'information la plus précise et la plus nourrie; et la préface, dans son ensemble, démontre une fois de plus cette vérité, que la sympathie et l'admiration aiguïssent l'intelligence critique, au lieu de l'émousser.

JEAN SEZNEC

Harvard University

Verlaine en Belgique. Par Gustave Vanwelkenhuyzen. Bruxelles, La Renaissance du Livre, 1945. Pp. 263.

The author is a specialist in Franco-Belgian literary relations: his exhaustive study of *L'Influence du naturalisme français en Belgique* (see *MLN*, Feb. 1932), was followed by *Huysmans et la Belgique*. (see *RR.*, July-Sept., 1935.) The present volume, like its predecessors, is characterized by minute scholarship and documentation. The picturesque holds a marked fascination for the Belgians: Verlaine, like Huysmans, offers it in abundance and by it the critic adds no little piquancy to his erudite pages.

The book opens with a discussion of the ancestry of the poet whose father's family hailed from the Belgian Ardennes: possibly something of his split personality and poetic originality is due to the atavistic influence of this frontier region. There follows a succinct but adequate account of the odyssey of Verlaine and Rimbaud in Belgium. This leads to the more interesting story of the poet's experiences in prison, where he wrote enough verse of great variety to refute the statement that he composed easily only in a state of inebriation. M. Vanwelkenhuyzen accepts the sincerity of his conversion, adding significantly: "Mais chez lui, moins que chez tout autre, la foi n'implique pas la sainteté . . . L'*homo duplex* qu'il a reconnu se débattre en lui, ne cesse de l'entraîner aux contraires et par là même de nous dérouter." Verlaine's repu-

tation, both in France and Belgium, took its start in the publication (1884) of Huysmans' *A Rebours*, of which the hero admired *Sagesse* and rapidly communicated his enthusiasm. Verhaeren and Rodenbach were among Verlaine's first champions. The pillars of *La Jeune Belgique*, while honoring his originality and power, maintained in general a judicial attitude. One of them, the austere Parnassian Albert Giraud, wrote in 1896 what may well prove to be the final word, although M. Vanwelkenhuyzen seems to find it biased: "Ses vrais admirateurs salueront en lui non pas un génie, mais un maître de second rang, le premier peut-être des poètes mineurs, un des sensibiliseurs du vers français, et le rimeur qui, après La Fontaine et Victor Hugo, eut, au plus haut degré, l'instinct et la science du rythme." At first the young Catholic writers, except Rodenbach, were distrustful, but later rallied vigorously to his support. They shared with the *Jeunes Belgique* in arranging a series of lectures by which the poverty-stricken poet hoped to ameliorate his situation. The account of this tour offers some of the most colorful pages of the volume, for Verlaine was anything but an orator and his sponsors were obliged to exercise constant vigilance to keep him from forgetting his engagements in some dive.

Besides offering a complete picture of Verlaine's relations with Belgium, this book often presents new and piquant illustrations of his intimate personality.

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE

Reed College

Louisiana Creole Dialect. By James F. Broussard. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1943.¹ Pp. xiii + 134.

This book, by the late Professor Broussard of Louisiana State University, opens with a preface in which the author defines the Louisiana Creole dialect as the language evolved by the Negro slaves brought to the lower Mississippi valley from the French West Indies during the eighteenth century. This dialect is spoken today by thousands of their descendants and by a small portion of the white population, which is also familiar with either Louisiana-French or "Cajun." The particular variety of Creole investigated in this study is that of the parish of Saint Martin in the heart of the picturesque and historically famous Evangeline country in southwestern Louisiana. Mr. Broussard states that he learned the dialect from his nurse, that he spoke it exclusively until the age of seven, and that he continued to use it throughout his life.

An idea of the scope of the work and the method followed by the author can be gathered from the titles and the pagination of the chapters or sections into which it is divided: "Phonetics," (pages 1-3); "Grammar," (pages 4-24); "Idioms," (pages 25-30); "Folklore," (pages 31-87); "La Fontaine's Fables in Translation," (pages 88-121); "Glossary," (pages 122-129); "Bibli-

1. Although the date 1942 appears on the title page, *Louisiana Creole French* was really published in 1943, since the Louisiana State University Press requested reviewers to hold their reviews until February 15, 1943.

ography," (pages 130-134). All Negro-French materials used in the treatment of phonetics, grammar, and idioms as well as in the glossary and the first part of the chapter devoted to folk-lore (pages 33-40) are reproduced both in the conventional French alphabet and in phonemic transcription. In the rest of the book the author is satisfied with using conventional French spelling adapted to Creole sounds. On the other hand he has been very careful never to use any dialectal materials without translating them at once into standard French.

Readers trained in the rigorous methods of linguistic research will regret that the author did not always go directly to Negro informants for his materials. They will condemn most emphatically the use by Mr. Broussard of his translations of fables of La Fontaine as dialectal documents, even if these translations, as he tells us, were submitted to Creole speakers and revised in the light of their suggestions. These renderings of La Fontaine into Louisiana Creole are artificial compositions of a literary origin.² It would therefore be idle to look in them for an accurate record of the linguistic habits and speech patterns of the humble folk who use the dialect as their ordinary means of communicating with other members of their community. The use of the material contained in the section entitled "Poetry" (pages 42-51) is also open to a similar criticism, since the five poems in it are not of popular origin but were written around 1860 by an octoroon of "exceptional ability" and "reveal a decided poetic talent." Incidentally these literary compositions are included under the larger heading of "Folklore." The four folk-tales to be found in the book are also of questionable linguistic value. Since Mr. Broussard heard them from his nurse and his mother during his childhood and wrote them as he remembered them, these texts are reliable only to the extent to which his memory can be trusted. Judging from the very close similarity not only of plot but even of phrasing between "Listwa Jean Sotte" (pages 52-63) and the "Jean Sotte" story published by Alcée Fortier in his *Louisiana Folk-Tales*³ (pp. 62-69), it would seem that there were times when Mr. Broussard's memory needed to be refreshed. This is only natural, as some fifty years elapsed between the time he heard those stories and the time he wrote them down.

These rather severe strictures should not lead the reader to believe that the book under review does not contain any trustworthy information about either Louisiana Creole dialect or folk-lore. The author was thoroughly familiar with the language and the mores of the French-speaking Negroes of Saint Martin Parish, and we are not questioning his knowledge of the field about which he undertook to write. We are simply objecting to his method and

2. For translations into the Negro-French dialects of Martinique and Haiti, which undoubtedly served Mr. Broussard as models, see A. Marbot, *Les Bambous. Fables de La Fontaine travesties en patois martiniquais*, Fort-de-France, 1846 (other editions, 1869, 1885, 1931), and Georges Sylvain, *Cric? Crac! Fables de La Fontaine racontées par un montagnard haïtien et transcrites en vers créoles*, Paris, 1901; reprinted Port-au-Prince, 1929.

3. *Louisiana Folk-Tales in French Dialect and English Translation*, Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, 11, 1895.

voicing the regret that this study, which he could easily have made a definitive treatment of the subject, should be so sketchy and in many respects so unscientific. The only portion of the book which contains sound linguistic comments comprises approximately thirty-five pages of a small format. Phonetics are covered in slightly more than two pages, the whole grammatical structure of the language in twenty, the list of idioms is restricted to eighteen items, and the glossary includes only 240 words. There is no attempt whatever to treat the subject from a comparative point of view and to indicate similarities or differences of phonology, grammar or vocabulary between the Creole dialect of Saint Martin Parish and the various French Creole dialects spoken in other parts of the world. The book contains little which the specialist could not already find in the studies of Van Name, Mercier, Harrison, Fortier, Tinker, and Lane. Its only advantage over these is that, being more recent, it will be more easily accessible to the amateur linguist and the uninitiated.

It is likewise unfortunate that it should add so little to our knowledge of the mores of a group so rich in popular lore. Those interested in the subject will wish the sections on proverbs, medical prescriptions, and superstitions were much longer. The author lists twenty-nine proverbs, in fourteen of which appear references to animals; medical prescriptions and superstitions are limited to nine items each. A fair portion of all this material came from Europe, while the rest was brought over from Africa, but Mr. Broussard refrains from making any comments on its origin.

By way of concluding this review and for the sake of completeness we list⁴ the most important references not to be found in the bibliography, which is

4. Charles Baissac, *Le Folk-lore de l'Île Maurice. (Texte créole et traduction française)*, 1888; Ferdinand Brunot, "Explication de l'origine et de la formation des parlers français-créoles," *Histoire de la langue française, des origines à 1900* (4^e éd. rev. et aug., 1933-1935), t. VIII, fasc. 2, pp. 1117-1147; Jean Baptiste Thibault de Chanvalon, "Des Nègres," *Voyage à la Martinique*, 1763, pp. 57-67 (on their customs); Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain, *Le Créole haïtien; morphologie et syntaxe*, 1936; and "Creole Tales from Haiti: Creole and English Text," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, I (1937), 207-295, LI (1938), 219-362; Harold Courlander, *Uncle Bouqui of Haiti*, 1942; Allison Davis and John Dollard, "Creole Miss," *Children of Bondage*, 1940, pp. 127-155; S. Delmond, "Langage et folklore martiniquais," *Mercur de France*, CCLXIV (1935), 83-95; S. J. Ducœur-Joly, "Vocabulaire français et créole," and "Conversations créoles," *Manuel des Habitants de Saint-Domingue*, 1802, II, 283-355, 357-391; Melville J. Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley*, 1937; J. W. Ivy, "Wisdom of the Haitian Peasant; or, Some Haitian Proverbs Considered," *Journal of Negro History*, XXVI (1941), 485-498; George S. Lane, "Notes on Louisiana-French. II. The Negro-French Dialect," *Language*, XI (1935), 5-16; James G. Leyburn, "The Creole Language," *The Haitian People*, 1941, pp. 297-304; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Folk-Lore of the Antilles, French and English*, Part III, 1943; Claude C. Robin, *Voyages dans l'Intérieur de la Louisiane*, 1807, III, pp. 185-189 (earliest material found on Louisiana Creole dialect); Victor Schœlcher, *Des Colonies françaises*, 1842, pp. 417-432 (Negro proverbs from the French West Indies); Julien Tiersot, *Chansons nègres, recueillies, traduites et harmonisées par Julien Tiersot*, 1933 (words and melodies of ten Creole songs); and *La Musique chez les Peuples indigènes de l'Amérique du Nord*, 1911 (melodies of thirty-two Negro-French songs); Addison Van Name, "Contributions to Creole Grammar," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, I (1871), 123-167 (pp. 126-149, on French Creole dialects); Edward Wakefield, "Wisdom of Gombo," *Nineteenth Century*, XXX (1891), 575-582 (deals with proverbs); Irène Thérèse Whitfield, *Louisiana French Folk Songs*, 1939 (102 songs, 24 of which are Negro-French).

rather extensive in spite of its title, "A Partial Bibliography of Writings on the Creole."

J.-M. CARRIÈRE

The University of Virginia

Petrarch and the Renaissance. By J. H. Whitfield. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1943. Pp. 170.

The Italian Renaissance for many scholars has now become a "problem" rather than a subject of study, and the attempts to deny its existence or to minimize its significance are numerous. Mr. Whitfield in his stimulating book sets out to rehabilitate the Italian Renaissance as the dawn of modern European civilization. He denies the charge that the political corruption of Renaissance Italy was due to the influence of its classical humanism, and counters it by asserting that the moral and political evils of the period were a medieval heritage. He also rejects the opinion, held by many students of the Renaissance, that the humanistic movement was a formal or rhetorical movement. The major concern of the humanists, according to him, was content rather than form, moral and political ideas rather than literature. Far from opposing the teachings of Christianity, they tried rather to reinforce it with the help of classical morals. After the general problem is outlined in the first chapter, the author discusses his point at length with regard to Petrarch, the "father of humanism," to whom three chapters are devoted. Three more chapters deal, respectively, with the humanist educators, with Valla, and with Alberti.

The book is very well written and studded with clever and witty observations that should please and entertain every attentive reader. It also contains a great many sound remarks; and many of the author's opinions are either convincing, or serve as a healthy antidote to the opposite and equally wrong opinions of others. His interpretation of Petrarch is on the whole satisfactory, although far from complete, since his indebtedness to the Middle Ages is minimized. Petrarch would also seem to confirm the author's thesis inasmuch as his emphasis on moral content and on religion, as well as on classical form, is obvious. On the other hand, I do not think that the same is true of the numerous other humanists to whom the author refers in a much too perfunctory manner. For them the older view, that the humanistic movement is primarily formal, would still seem to be true. More caution should be exercised in taking any quotation of a classical commonplace as the expression of profound and new moral convictions. On the other hand, the concern for literary form is far from contemptible, and to acquire the sense of it will probably prove to be the best way toward a true evaluation of the humanistic writers.

However the author's statements lose power through his disregard for the Middle Ages and for the minor Italian humanists after Petrarch. He does not start from the sources, and thus he is too much influenced by the secondary literature even where he contradicts it. Mr. Whitfield seems to be aware of this gap, and he anticipates the criticism by stating that a historian of litera-

ture should consider only a few great and significant writers and leave the rest to oblivion (page 146). This attitude is as fashionable as it is frivolous. The history of literature would be in a very bad situation indeed if it ever forgot the difference between great and minor writers. Yet to refrain from mentioning and studying the minor authors would mean that the educational needs of a college freshman or the sophisticated taste of a curious amateur reader are to be taken as the final standards of scholarship. Intentional omission of available material leads to actual loss and destruction in the field of ideas, and the contempt for modest truth which today is the elegant gesture of a polite scholar may tomorrow become the justification of the lazy student or the excuse of the "creative" liar.

The source of the author's sympathetic interest in the Italian Renaissance is revealed toward the end of his book (pages 162 ff.). He thinks that the Italian Renaissance was the beginning of a period which ended with the French Revolution and in which European civilization was dominated by a deep concern for good taste. Since the last century, according to him, this has changed, and taste has been subordinated to the mere necessities of science, technology, and economics. The author who thus repeats the arguments voiced by many Romanticists would have us learn a lesson from the Italian Renaissance. Sympathetic as we may feel to these appeals, we should have learned from the recent distortions of Romanticism how carefully we must guard the necessities and essentials of our physical and moral life against the dangers of any exclusive estheticism. As to the Italian Renaissance, the author's insistence on its taste would seem to imply an acceptance of the very opinion which he had rejected before, that is, that the humanistic movement was formal and rhetorical. For literary form and rhetoric when we take them in their positive sense are nothing else than the aim and product of taste and of elegance.

PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER

Columbia University

Cancionero da Ajuda. A diplomatic edition by Henry H. Carter. New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1941. Pp. 190.

An old desire that the Portuguese philologist Carolina Michaëlis expressed and which many others felt, has been fulfilled by Mr. Carter with the publication of this book. The editor has carried out his task with all the accuracy required by a text as important as the *Cancionero da Ajuda*.

The introduction describes the manuscript, tells the essentials of its bibliographical history and gives convincing evidence for the necessity of the diplomatic edition. Footnotes and final tables register every detail concerning the signs, erasures, cancellations and marginal notations of the original. The composition of the pages, notwithstanding its philological apparatus, is clear and attractive.

It would have been better to employ for the paleographic sign of the conjunction *e* a special character or a number of the same size as the rest of the

letters to avoid the numerical aspect of the "7" used. This would have been eminently justifiable in an edition which has required the manufacture of so many other particular signs. It would have been advisable to have preserved the distinction that the manuscript makes between high and low "s." It would also have been preferable to make the photographic examples of original pages in a larger format, even though the number of reproductions would have had to be reduced.

We are looking forward to the author's publication of a critical edition of the *Cancionero*, which will complete and modernize the excellent work executed many years ago by Dona Carolina Michaëlis.

TOMÁS NAVARRO

Columbia University

Ensaio de Crítica. Por Guilherme Moniz Barreto. Lisboa, Livraria Bertrand, 1944. Pp. xlii + 353.

El último cuarto del siglo XIX es un momento estelar de la literatura portuguesa, en que ésta cobra una fuerza y un latido universales inigualados desde el Renacimiento. Produce entonces una poesía cualitativa y cuantitativamente digna de su tradición lírica, un pensamiento histórico y filosófico a tono con las coordenadas de la alta cultura europea, dotado de ideas y medios expresivos propios, y una creación novelística rica y original. En estas tres direcciones ya contaba Portugal con un rico acervo en su historia cultural. Pero aparece además algo que no era fruto común en las letras lusitanas: una gran figura crítica, Guilherme Moniz Barreto. Lleno de saber agudo, de delicada sensibilidad y de método seguro, es un jalón señero y casi único, y el verdadero fundador de este género literario en un país "de flaca conciencia crítica" en las letras. Su capacidad de síntesis, su aguzada comprensión del fenómeno creador, la exactitud de su medio expresivo y su fina percepción de las complejas relaciones que forman la personalidad literaria, hacen de sus escritos páginas maestras del ensayo crítico. Por razones inexplícables esta gran figura había casi sido relegada al olvido por la crítica nacional y extranjera. Fugaces menciones—siempre acompañadas de la etiqueta de "malogrado"—por algunas plumas avisadas. Ausencia de su nombre en la mayoría de los manuales de literatura más comunes. Omisión en las enciclopedias y por ende una casi total imposibilidad de obtener acerca de él aún los datos biográficos más elementales. Su obra—de una importancia tan capital—se había dejado "dispersa e inoperante," esparcida por revistas, algunas de difícil acceso. Los escasos artículos críticos que se le habían dedicado eran en su mayoría de contemporáneos suyos. Era un deber y una urgencia elementales de las letras portuguesas la publicación ordenada de su obra y la presentación al público, con la debida perspectiva, de un hombre y una obra cuya personalidad en las letras lusitanas es tan considerable. Ya Fidelino de Figueiredo—brújula que tantos rumbos ha marcado a la historiografía literaria de Portugal—había hecho en la *Revista de Historia* un primer intento parcial de coordinación de su obra dispersa, y había señalado

su rango en varios libros, aunque con una inexplicable pobreza de datos biográficos. El ensayo más conocido de Moniz Barreto "A Literatura Portuguesa Contemporânea," había sido reproducido en opúsculo por J. Osorio de Oliveira en los *Cadernos Culturais Inquérito*, pero todavía mucho de su obra quedaba fuera del alcance general, principalmente durmiente en el olvido de las colecciones de revistas brasileñas. En el volumen que nos ocupa la pluma sutil y penetrante de Victorino Nemésio ha tomado sobre sí el presentar al público parte de la obra de Moniz Barreto, precediéndola de un brillante y jugoso estudio de su personalidad. En este trabajo, el perspicaz crítico portugués nos ofrece una notable copia de datos biográficos nuevos para el público. A ellos acompaña un substancioso análisis de las influencias determinantes de la formación psicológica y cultural de Moniz Barreto y de los elementos fundamentales en que se basó su concepto crítico, discriminando agudamente la vigencia o caducidad los principios reguladores de su actividad intelectual.

El volumen incluye algunas de las mejores páginas del crítico: la primera parte se abre con el ensayo filosófico "Angelo ou o Emprego da Vida," que tan útil es como clave de su filosofía fundamental. A continuación vienen varios ensayos de estética general y "Filosofia Portuguesa," en que señala los corrientes del pensamiento filosófico portugués y extranjero del momento. Finalmente el ya citado "A Literatura Portuguesa Contemporânea," donde su capacidad de síntesis se muestra con toda brillantez, en el análisis de los genios culturales de los distintos países europeos y en su burla diagnosis de la cultura peninsular. En la segunda división se han incluido, el estudio sobre Oliveira Martins, y varios breves ensayos críticos sobre Eça de Queiroz. Es lástima que haya quedado fuera el estudio fundamental sobre este autor publicado en la *REVISTA BRASILEIRA*, de José Veríssimo (xii, Outubro 15 & Novembro 30, 1896). El resto del volumen lo componen dos grupos de escritos sobre Literatura Francesa y Literatura Inglesa; entre los primeros figuran los magistrales sobre Taine (su maestro, y admiración principal) y Le Disciple de Paul Bourget.

Victorino Nemésio nos promete la Obras Completas, con la publicación futura de uno o dos volúmenes adicionales. Con ellos terminará de saldar la crítica lusitana una deuda de honor, y se llenará un vacío injustificable en el conocimiento de la literatura portuguesa del período, haciendo fácilmente accesibles páginas de primera calidad, para el estudio de la historia de la crítica literaria en Portugal.

Como pequeño detalle queremos hacer notar cómo la fatalidad aun persigue a la biografía de Moniz Barreto. Nemésio da en el texto de su estudio 1865 como fecha de nacimiento afirmando más tarde que su muerte tuvo lugar "a los treinta y tres años," y sin embargo en la nota biográfica de la contracubierta la fecha de fallecimiento aparece como 1894. Agostinho de Campos en *Pladins da Linguagem*, I, Lisboa, 1926, da como año de su temprana desaparición 1899.

ERNESTO G. DA CAL

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The Vogue of Marmontel on the German Stage. By L. M. Price. University of California Publications in Modern Philology. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944. Vol. 27, No. 2. Pp. 27 + 124, frontispiece.

In this study Professor Price has added an important item to the already imposing list of his contributions in the fields of comparative literature and bibliography. Though the author defines his monograph with typical scholarly restraint as "primarily a routine study of influx," (page 37) he does, nevertheless, bring much valuable information on a subject which until now had not received its due share of attention, and succeeds in shedding some new light on the entire literary scene in 18th-century Germany.

The study opens with a brief sketch of Marmontel's life and character in which the author underscores the traits reflected in his works which fostered Marmontel's acceptance in Germany of the Enlightenment: his democratic tendencies, his optimism, his faith in the essential goodness of man, his indulgent and forgiving temperament (pages 36-37). In the second, the central part of the study, Price traces twenty Marmontelian themes which were translated and adapted for the German stage, sums up the plots not without occasional touches of irony, and gives a detailed account of their reception by German critics and the German public (pages 40-97).

Professor Price's study adds significantly to the work of his predecessors, Max Freund and G. O. Schmid, both in amount and accuracy of its bibliographical and textual data. Moreover, the author makes valuable corrections of normally authoritative bibliographical sources, such as *Goedeckes Grundriss* and Heinsius' and Kayser's book lexica (Part II, pages 98-104). The broader significance of Price's contribution lies in the fact that it helps correct the erroneous impression, created by some leading historians of German literature, that with the advent of Lessing, French influence on the German stage suddenly ceased. In his text and tables, Price demonstrates that translations and adaptations of French works continued to loom large in the German repertoire to the very end of the 18th century, that as late as 1776 performances of plays based on Marmontel's works nearly equalled the sum total of Lessing-Goethe-Shakespeare performances (121 to 127), and that for a considerable time after the appearance of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller the melodrama of French provenience continued to dominate the German stage. Finally, the author touches on the problem of Goethe's and Schiller's contact with the melodrama and the French theater and indicates, all too summarily perhaps, the effect of this on their mature works (*Faust*, *Egmont*, *Iphigenie*, *Maria Stuart*, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, *Wallensteins Lager*, *Wilhelm Tell*. (Cf. especially Price, pages 105-115).

Price's monograph demonstrates how a sober, systematic investigation of a limited problem which brings to light a wealth of textual and bibliographical detail, tends to transcend the specific problem and, by virtue of its accurate information, sets aright or underscores basic elements in the total picture of

a literary period (here the Age of Enlightenment), which had been slighted or even distorted by survey studies. The work of Professor Price will prove of value and interest not only to the Marmontel specialists but to students of German and French literatures generally.

ANDRÉ VON GRONICKA

Columbia University

 BOOKS RECEIVED

- Adamic, Louis, *A Nation of Nations*. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1945. Pp. 399.
- Allen, Gay Wilson, *Walt Whitman Handbook*. Chicago, Packard and Co., 1946. Pp. xviii+560.
- Baldensperger, Fernand, *La Critique et l'histoire littéraires en France, au dix-neuvième et au début du vingtième siècles*. New York, Brentano, 1945. Pp. 244.
- Bates, Blanchard W., *Literary Portraiture in the Historical Narrative of the French Renaissance*. New York, Stechert and Co., 1945. Pp. 168.
- Brandt, Gustaf, *La concurrence entre "soi" et "lui, eux elle(s)," étude de syntaxe historique française*. Lund, Etudes romanes, par Alf Lombard, VIII, 1944. Pp. 346.
- Calkins, Gladys Ethel, *Antoine de Montchrestien: Les Lacènes, A Critical Edition*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1943. Pp. 61.
- Casal, Julian del, *Poestas Completas*. Recopilación, ensayo preliminar, bibliografía y notas de Mario Cabrera Saqui. Habana, Publicaciones del ministerio de educación, 1945. Pp. 7+349.
- Castro, Américo, *Antonio de Guevara: El Villano del Danubio y otros fragmentos*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. xxvi+22.
- Chernowitz, Maurice E., *Proust and Painting*. New York, International University Press, 1945. Pp. x+261.
- Coffman, George R., *Studies in Language and Literature*. Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. vii+344.
- Doyle, Henry Grattan, and others, *A Handbook on the Teaching of Spanish and Portuguese, with special reference to Latin America*. New York, Heath and Co., 1945. Pp. x+395.
- Dufrenoy, Marie-Louise, *L'Orient romanesque en France, 1704-1789, Etude d'histoire et de critique littéraires*. Montreal, Editions Beauchemin. 1946. Pp. 380.
- Elizabethan Studies and other essays*, in honor of George F. Reynolds. Boulder, Col., University of Colorado Studies, series B: Studies in the Humanities, II, No. 4, 1945. Pp. x+387.
- Foerster, Norman, *The Humanities and the Common Man*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. viii+60.
- George, Albert Joseph, *Pierre-Simon Ballanche, Precursor of Romanticism*. Syracuse University Press, 1945. Pp. xv+207.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. All manuscripts should be typewritten and double-spaced with ample margins.
2. Quotations in any language of over four or five typewritten lines will generally be printed in small roman as separate paragraphs (set-down matter). In the typescript such extracts should be in a separate paragraph single-spaced and should not be enclosed in quotation marks.
3. Titles of books and periodicals will be italicized and should be underlined in the typescript. Titles of articles, chapters and poems should be in roman enclosed in quotation marks.
4. In titles of English publications, in titles of periodicals in any language except German, and in divisions of English works (parts, chapters, sections, poems, articles, etc.), the first word and all the principal words should be capitalized. Ex:

The Comedy of Errors

In the *Romanic Review* there appeared an article entitled "Flaubert's Correspondence with Louise Colet, Chronology and Notes."

Such a repetition may be found in the Preface. (But: James Gray wrote the preface for the second edition.)

5. In an English passage French titles should have the article capitalized and underlined as part of the title. Ex: He read *La France vivante*. In a French passage, the article should be neither capitalized nor underlined. Ex: Il a lu *la France vivante* et *l'Histoire de la littérature française* de Lanson.
6. In an English passage, French and Italian titles should be capitalized as follows. The first word is always capitalized. If a substantive immediately follows an initial article, definite or indefinite, it is also capitalized. If the substantive is preceded by an adjective, this also receives a capital letter. If the title begins with any other word than an article or an adjective, the words

following are all in lower-case. Ex: *Les Femmes savantes*; *La Folle Journée*; *L'Âge ingrat*; *De la terre à la lune*; *Sur la piste*; *La Leda senza cigno*; *Scrittori del tempo nostro*; *I Narratori*; *Nell'azzurro*; *Piccolo Mondo antico*.

7. Spanish titles should have a capital only on the first word unless the title contains a proper noun. Ex: *Cantigas de amor e de maldizer*; *La perfecta casada*.
8. Words or phrases not in the language of the article, and not yet naturalized, will be italicized and should be underlined in the typescript. Consult the dictionary if in doubt. Ex: *genre*, *pièce à thèse*, *ancien régime*, *Zeitgeist*.
9. All quotations should correspond exactly with the original in wording, spelling, and punctuation. Words or phrases in quotations must not be italicized or underlined unless they are so in the original or unless it is indicated in a footnote that the italics have been added. Any interpolation in an extract should be indicated by enclosing it in brackets; any omission should be indicated by three periods. Ex: "It is this work [*Le Lys dans la vallée*] which—" ; "Il est . . . absorbé par des travaux—."
10. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout each article or book-review. In the text the note number should be printed as a superior figure (slightly above the typed line); at the head of the note itself, it should be a figure of normal size followed by a period (on a level with the typed line). Ex: At eighteen, he moved to Paris.¹

1. John Palmer, *Studies in the Contemporary Theatre*, p. 48.

11. Footnotes may be typed into the article itself, separated from the text by ruled lines, or subjoined to the end of the text, on separate pages.
12. Note numbers in the text always follow the punctuation. Ex: There is no question as to the date of this edition.² As Flaubert stated,³ he was willing to—.

13. Short references included in the text to save footnotes, should be enclosed in parentheses and should not contain abbreviations. In book-reviews this is often the easiest way to make a direct reference to the work which is being reviewed. Ex: In the Introduction (page 10), the author remarks—.

14. Names should never be abbreviated. Even the name of the author of a work which is being reviewed should be written out each time that it is used.

15. All footnotes must begin with a capital letter and end with a period or some other final punctuation. Each note should contain an exact reference to the page or pages in question; the title is rarely enough. If a footnote refers to the same title cited in the preceding note, *ibid.* should be used to avoid repeating the title. If a note refers to a work already cited, but not cited in the preceding footnote, *op. cit.* should be used for a book, *loc. cit.* for an article. Such abbreviations should not ordinarily be used to refer farther back than the preceding page. Since the aim, however, is merely to avoid ambiguity, no rule need be laid down. Ex:

10. Cross, Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales*, p. 35.

11. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, p. 90.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

13. W. A. Nitze, "Lancelot and Guinevere," *Speculum*, VIII, 240.

14. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

15. Nitze, *loc. cit.*, p. 249.

16. In the citation of references the amount of bibliographical detail is left to the discretion of the contributor, but the order of the items should be presented as indicated below. Inclusion of items (3), (4), and (5) is optional with the contributor.

In the case of books cited, the form of reference should be as follows: (1) author's name, preceded by his first name or initials, (2) the title italicized (underlined), (3) where necessary, the edition, (4) place of publication, (5) name of publisher, (6) date of publica-

tion, (7) reference to volume in capital roman numerals without preceding 'Vol.' or 'V.', (8) reference to page in arabic numerals, preceded by 'p.' or 'pp.' only when there is no preceding reference to volume. Each item but the last should be followed by a comma; the last item should be followed by a period. Ex:

Albert Thibaudet, *Histoire de la littérature française de 1789, à nos jours*, Paris, Stock, 1936, p. 60.

H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, 4th ed., New York, Macmillan, 1925, II, 221-225.

17. Reference to periodicals should include wherever possible, volume number and page number or numbers. Where it is desirable to give the year also, it should follow the volume number, in parentheses. When it is impossible to give a volume number, the date of the issue should take its place. Ex:

La Nouvelle Revue Française, II (1909), 224.

Les Nouvelles Littéraires, 30 juillet 1932, p. 8.

18. The following periodicals should be abbreviated as follows in footnotes:

Gröbers Grundriss der romanischen Philologie—GG

Modern Language Journal—MLJ

Modern Language Notes—MLN

Modern Philology—MP

Publications of the Modern Language Association—PMLA

Romania—R

Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France—RHL

Revue de Littérature Comparée—RLC

Romanic Review—RR

Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur—ZFSL

Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie—ZRP

19. The following Latin words and abbreviations will be italicized and should be underlined in typescript. They should be capitalized only when they begin a footnote. *ca.* (about, in dates), *e.g.* (for instance), *et al.* (and others), *ibid.* (not *ib.* or *idem*, the same reference), *i.e.*

- (that is), *loc. cit.* (place cited), *op. cit.* (work cited), *passim* (here and there), *sic* (thus), *vs.* (versus). Exceptions are: etc., viz.
20. The following abbreviations will appear in roman type and therefore should not be underlined in typescript: cf., f., ff. (following), fol. foll. (folio, folios), l., ll. (line, lines), p., pp., vol., vs., vss. (verses). Mme and Mlle, MS and MSS (manuscript, manuscripts) should be typed without periods.
 21. Headings for book-reviews should follow these models:

Jules Sandeau, l'homme et la vie. Par Mabel Silver. Paris, Boivin, 1936. Pp. 247.

A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century. By Professor Henry Carrington Lancaster. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press. *Part I* (1610-1634), 2 vols., 1929. Pp. 785. *Part II* (1635-1651), 2 vols., 1932. Pp. 804. *Part III* (1652-1672), 2 vols., 1936. Pp. 896.
 22. All references in the completed manuscript should be verified before it is submitted for publication.
 23. Contributors should retain an accurate carbon copy of their manuscripts.

BOOKS FOR SPRING 1946

The Doctor in the French Literature of the 16th Century

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